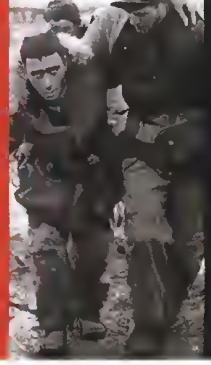
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KOREA
50 Years After Our Forgotten War

THE OLYMPICS
Deadly Drugs

EXCLUSIVE

ABUSE OF TRUST

The Gordon residential school is gone. But what happened behind those walls is part of a larger tragedy that has left victims traumatized, the courts in chaos and churches facing bankruptcy.

By Jane O'Hara



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This Week

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Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine
June 26, 2000 Vol.113 No.26

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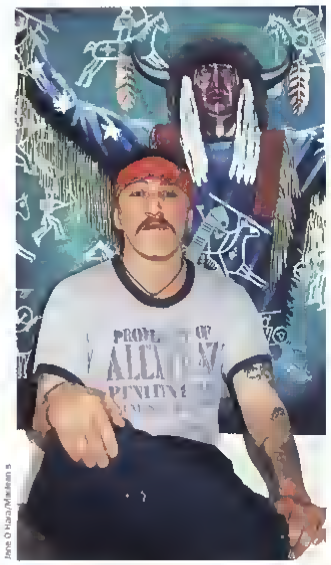
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ROGERS MEDIA

Cover



Jose O Hara/Maclean's

16 Abuse of trust

For more than a century, Canada's residential schools tried to assimilate native children into white society. They also subjected many students, among them Miles Anderson, to abuse. The result is a legal quagmire that has the churches which helped run the schools facing bankruptcy, natives suing natives, and lawyers aggressively searching for fresh clients.

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30 Our forgotten war

Ottawa's Dan Bordeleau is one of Canada's 13,000 surviving Korean War veterans. Many of the vets say they have always been sorely neglected—and they deserve better



26 Martin's obstacle course

The approval process for bank mergers triggered by Finance Minister Paul Martin's new legislation looks more like *dis*approval to bankers



42 The Olympics: deadly drugs

Track fans have enjoyed a spate of record performances, like that by miler Hicham El Guerrouj of Morocco. But critics wonder if drugs have undermined the sport's credibility

From the

Editor



The future of the safety net

Feeling wealthier and healthier these days? According to a slew of reports in the past week, you should be. To be sure, there are mixed outcomes. But in general, there is some good news. Items:

• The average Canadian family is now better off than it was before the recession of the 1990s. According to Statistics Canada, in 1998 family income reached its highest level since 1989—an average of $49,626 after tax (the pre-recession peak was $48,807). The cloud around the silver lining: the wealthiest claimed the gains. For every dollar that went to those in the bottom 20 per cent of family incomes (an average of $17,662), $5.40 went to those at the top ($96,175). Another negative: while after-tax income jumped on average, taxes went up more (*www.statcan.ca*).

• Population experts say we will live longer than previously reckoned. In the new calculation, Canadians' life expectancy is given as 85.26 years instead of 81.67, according to an analysis published in the authoritative science journal *Nature* by members of the California-based Mountain View Research (*www.nature.com*). Among seven industrial nations in the survey, Canada placed fourth behind Japan (90.91 years), France (87.81) and Italy (86.26), and ahead of Britain (83.79), Germany (83.12) and the United States (82.91).

The study has major implications for governments and health authorities. With the first wave of baby boomers reaching 65 in the next decade, longer life expectancy will further strain old age security programs and health facilities. Governments in Canada some day could be forced to postpone the start of programs for seniors beyond 65. The official retirement age could increase.

The radical rethinking of social policy already has begun in Canada. Last week in Saskatchewan, the cradle of medicare, Premier Roy Romanow appointed a special commission to review the health-care system. Romanow insisted that user fees and privatization are not part of the mandate. "Short of that," he declared, "everything is on the table."

Still, it may be difficult to keep privatization out of the discussion. Many doctors and health officials firmly believe that radical change has to be considered. Jeffrey Lozon, CEO of Toronto's downtown St. Michael's Hospital and a former Ontario deputy minister of health, suggests that society must confront the hard options. In a recent conversation with *Maclean's* board of editors, Lozon noted there are three basic choices: a commitment to "providing exemplary world-class health care" with the costs offset by higher taxes or "reduced services in other areas", making sure people are protected so that the "catastrophic sort of health problems doesn't devastate them economically" by shrinking the array of insured services, or "a more private" system.

Those may be fighting words to purists. But as Lozon notes: "It took six years to get people thinking that deficits are bad, and then maybe another two years to figure out what to do about it." In the next decade, will publicly financed universal health care also be only a memory?

Robert Lewis

response@macleans.ca to comment on From the Editor

Newsroom Notes

Investigative report



Treble (left), Kopvillem, O'Hara

Senior Writer Jane O'Hara travelled to four reserves and conducted nearly 100 interviews for this week's cover story on abuses in Indian residential schools (page 16). She found families where three generations attended the schools, operated by the federal government and churches for more than a century. "Many families were broken by what happened," said O'Hara. "But just as many are bravely fighting back. These people are heroes." The cover package was edited by Assistant Managing Editor Peeter Kopvillem and researched by Researcher/Reporter Patricia Treble.

Next week, *Maclean's* will present a celebration of excellence with a special Canada Day Forum featuring seven conspicuous achievers who embody some of the best characteristics of Canadian leadership. The participants: Chief Justice Beverley McLachlin, Olympic rower Marnie McBean, Ambassador Raymond Chrétien, wireless entrepreneur Hatim Zaghloul, MuchMusic's Denise Donlon, scientist and genome mapper Tom Hudson and ABC news anchor Peter Jennings.

Some people never worry about a lounge being available for them. **Are you one of them?**



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The Mail

The manure debate

The town of Walkerton, Ont., continues to mourn. The province of Ontario prepares to launch an inquiry and on-site investigators still seek the source of the *E. coli* 0157:H7 in the Walkerton water supply. Given all the uncertainties, I'm dismayed that *Maclean's* leapt to the unsubstantiated conclusion that intensive livestock operations are at



Grazing by water, manure management

fault ("When water kills," Cover, June 12). We are well aware of the magnitude of the tragedy and our hearts go out to the victims and the families of those who lost their lives. Cattle producers and their families share with the rest of society the common desire to have clean and safe water. They realize the importance of having safeguards in place at all times to protect water quality, whether it be for the tens of thousands of small wells serving family farms or for systems serving an entire municipality. Still, you made no attempt to include the viewpoint of the livestock industry or to portray the industry's positive steps in the areas of manure management and its concerns for water quality. It is the duty of the judicial inquiry to pronounce what went wrong in Walkerton, not the media's.

John Morrison, President, Canadian Cattlemen's Association, Calgary

During the weekend of May 26 and 27, a group of youngsters attended a scout camp in New Deer, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. By the end of the outing, some 35 had developed diarrhea. Testing confirmed *E. coli* 0157:H7 in 18 of the children. Health investigators found that a flock of sheep that grazed in the field also tested positive for *E. coli*, as did some surface puddles. Contact with fecal material and subsequent cross-contamination is the most likely explanation, as food and water consumed during the weekend tested negative. Such tales are common in the growing catalogue of *E. coli* outbreaks, but challenge your preconceived thesis that big is bad. Surveillance studies have concluded that one to 10 per cent of ruminants—cattle, sheep, goats, deer—carry *E. coli* 0157:H7 at any one time. Farmers know this. Health officials know this. That is why water is chlorinated. Farmers in Ontario are recognized as global leaders in land stewardship for their adoption of environmental farm plans and nutrient management plans. But not all participate. With 5,000 animals or 50, there are good and bad producers. Further, most studies show the prevalence of *E. coli* 0157:H7 in feedlot cattle is similar to that in range cattle. Whether it's factory farms or small organic operations, the lesson is vigilance, because bacteria will evolve and adapt to whatever food production and distribution systems humans develop. Simplistic finger pointing can in fact be dangerous as individuals may assume that such problems only happen to other people in other places.

Douglas Powell, Assistant Professor, Department of plant agriculture, University of Guelph, Ont.

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No nerds please

I was very disappointed in *Maclean's* for reinforcing old stereotypes about academically gifted students, using offensive terms like "nerd" and "geek" ("Reach for the book," Entertainment Notes, June 12). Why is it that students who excel on the football field or the basketball court are revered as heroes, while those who excel in the classroom are labelled as bookworms and shunned by their peers? This same attitude carries over into larger society, where a top professional athlete is paid a salary hundreds of times that of a doctor or research scientist. Whose contribution to society is really more important? It's time that we as a society re-examine our priorities, and that the media stop trashing those who take their studies seriously.

Alan Dill, Moose Jaw, Sask.

I read your cover story after I wrote out my weekly grocery list and I felt guilty. Shopping for the lowest prices on meat results in the proliferation of factory farms, and perhaps contaminated water. We've become accustomed to some of the lowest prices in the world for top-quality food, and now we're starting to pay for it.

Pamela Clarke, North Vancouver

It is not surprising that infected water should be a frightening sign that we are truly damaging our Earth. There is growing concern that the Earth cannot metabolize the vast amounts of manure produced by livestock factories. In parts



of the United States, many tonnes of manure have been persistently applied to soil as fertilizer. Much of it, however, is excess to the needs of the crops. It then seeps, as phosphorous and nitrogen, into deep soil, which it contaminates and runs off into rivers and waterways. Must the world become vegetarian to protect itself?

Dr John Aldis, Port Hope, Ont.

While your report on factory farming was an effective piece on the danger to local water tables, the operations involved were left unscathed on issues such as their contribution to greenhouse gases, the destruction of rainforest for cattle land, deplorable living conditions for the animals and soil erosion. The true and unwitting villain in this scheme: the North American consumer who believes the meat on his or her plate comes from a sustainable and responsible industry.

Nick Kowalko, Fort McMurray, Alta.

To use "human error" as an excuse is really Canadian. We have conquered many plagues by immunization or by cleaning up the source of the problems. Rat-borne fleas were discovered to be the vector for the Black Plague, and eliminating their presence removed the threat. Malaria was greatly reduced by draining the swamps where the anopheles mosquito lived and thrived. We eliminated smallpox and polio and greatly reduced the incidence of many childhood diseases. Immunization is what improved health. Why can't immunization to *E. coli* be added to our pantheon of vaccines? Let's put some pressure on the powers that be to address this.

Ray Beaton, Langley, B.C.

Congratulations for publishing a very informative article on the environmental hazards the livestock industry poses. Don't expect any level of government or the industry itself to publish such a report. How many Walkertons do we have to endure before stricter regulations are enforced?

Moez Kassamali, Calgary

Leaderless success

What is interesting about the latest political party preference poll ("Liberals lose ground," Canada Notes, June 12) is not that the Liberals' fuddle-duddle attitude is costing them popularity, but rather that the Canadian Alliance (genetically modified Reform) has gained support since it has been without a leader. This sobering note, I trust, has not gone beyond the attention of those currently on the road selling themselves in the race to be the next leader of the Alliance. Some, apparently, are meant to lead and some do neither for true success.

Barry W. Cook, Victoria

CBC tinkering

It was not "people power" that forced CBC president Robert Rabinovitch's "hasty retreat from plans to chop local news." Just when it appeared that common sense and courageous management was about to begin a decades late make-over of our national public broadcaster, Rabinovitch was fragged by federal and provincial politicians and his own politically warped board of directors ("Power to the people," From the Editor, June 12). To be fair, Rabinovitch resisted his political masters longer than most of his predecessors. Unfortunately, the half-hearted salvage of unwatched regional early-evening news programs, as well as the evisceration of those cherished by viewers (in places like St. John's, Nfld., Halifax and Winnipeg), not only sabotages his plan, but distracts from much larger issues that have long compromised the CBC's mandate. Yet to be addressed: the CBC's outdated corporate structure, a costly real estate empire, a preoccupation with commercial sports, the albatross of private affiliate stations, and the anachronistic mind-set that the CBC must be Canada's dominant broadcaster. Rabinovitch's retreat may represent many things—chief among them, proof that the CBC president is not beyond the reach of shortsighted political tinkerers—but it has nothing to do with people power.

Peter Kent, Toronto

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Internet security

"Fighting Net crime," (Tech, June 12) highlights the need for the public to take a cautionary approach to Internet use. Consumers need to recognize that while this new medium is loaded with potential benefits, it has not been subject to the formal mathematical analysis that one would expect of such an important part of our infrastructure. Therefore, problems are inevitable and, as you point out, no one is currently accountable for the failures, shutdowns or security leaks that will occur. Because Canada is home to major players in wireless technology and e-commerce, it is important to the economy that the public have confidence in the design of these companies' products and services and be assured that someone is professionally responsible should failures occur. Before professionals were licensed and building codes created, anyone could design structures. Inevitably, bridges and buildings collapsed, and the building industry itself adopted a series of technical standards that led to enhanced public safety. Until the software industry adopts a similar approach, the public cannot be assured that their computers are as safe as possible when they're online.

Great for power to the people, but I think in the case of Robert Rabinovitch the people got the messenger rather than the villain. They and the MPs should have gone after Jean Chrétien for pulling the plug on the CBC in the first place.

Mike Eaton, Cole Harbour, N.S.

Plugging the drain

As a registered professional engineer in Alberta, I worry about the latest Statistics Canada report citing the brain drain being more than matched by qualified immigrants from other countries ("Brains, small drain, big gain," Business Notes, June 5). What Statistics Canada fails to note is academic qualifications alone fail to make up for the kind of professionals Canadian businesses need to excel. Many immigrants from other countries with little to no training or work experience in Canada need a lot more than just the proper academic qualifications to fill Canadian jobs. They need extensive language training as well as learning to cope with the multicultural environment. Besides, trying to fill a brain drain with immigration will only exacerbate problems in the next downturn and does not address the root cause of the problem. Our government needs to stop thinking that continuing prosperity can be found through immigration.

Chris Whitehead, Calgary

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Editorial Update

Portraits in Excellence



If there is one characteristic that is uniquely Canadian, it is probably our tendency to downplay our achievements or credit others with our success

This summer, Maclean's goes against the national grain with a July 1 issue that celebrates excellence Canadian style This special issue will profile some of the country's most noted achievers, people who are recognized both at home and abroad as leaders in their respective fields

Through candid and engrossing profiles and a special Canada Day Forum, Maclean's will explore visions of the future held by remarkable people about how Canada can stand at the forefront in an increasingly global wired world

This Canada Day, celebrate our country's excellence with Maclean's July 1 issue, on newsstands June 26 2000.

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Over and Under Achievers

Celine: double the pleasure?

Pre-Canada Day capers. Tom Long, mon amour!! Jean Monty hangs up (on) investors!!

Tom Long: Unilingual Anglo signs up 2,800 Canadian Alliance members in remote Quebec riding (though no one knows who they are). Next: Bloc Québécois to launch recruiting drive in Burnaby, B.C.!!

Britney Spears: Teen queen of pop to front for tiny Ottawa Web startup aimed at selling clothes and stuff to kids. Revised song title: Fit Me *Baby One More Time.*

Celine Dion: Her fertility specialist says pregnant diva may have twins. *Great* news: maybe she'll make that two-year sabbatical *twice* as long

Jean Monty: Oops!! BCE chief tells analysts—a day before ordinary investors—that his company plans to cut purchase price offer for Teleglobe Inc. Surprise!! Teleglobe price drops 10 per cent in a day, while mom-and-pop investors wonder why. Next time, he should put that call to analysts either on hold—or public speakerphone

A *New* Life of Brian

Recently, Brian Mulroney cheerily told *Maclean's* that he's "getting the last laugh on my 'friends' in the Ottawa press gallery." The ex-PM, in fact, has been reborn as media mogul. Last week, he took on—temporarily—the CEO's job at Sun Media, the chain that publishes, among others, *The Toronto Sun*. He replaces Paul Godfrey, whose resignation was expected. Godfrey made $26 million when Sun Media was sold to Quebecor Inc. last year, and associates say he chafed at sharing authority with his new bosses.

Mulroney's other credentials include a directorship with Quebecor, the chairmanship of the New York City-based magazine *Forbes Global*, and a board seat on Great Britain's *Independent* newspaper. And his media reach seems likely to expand again: sources say Mulroney will soon be named to the board of one of the largest American media-based conglomerates.

Media Watch

Scoop: the poop

What constitutes a scandal in our nation's capital? Try this: last week, *The Ottawa Citizen* ran a front-page story headed "Gallery pays for dog's debut." The piece said the National Gallery's director, **Pierre Théberge**, "is using gallery resources to promote his personal acquisition of a new puppy." The offence? The gallery issued a "bizarre" press release inviting the Ottawa media to photograph Théberge's new 10-week-old Airedale terrier, Pistache. Théberge, who now brings his 10-year-old Airedale, Bobinette, to work, will do the same with Pistache. Théberge said he agreed to the news conference because of media interest. Bobinette has appeared in several *Citizen* stories in the past. Now, Bobinette has a new competitor for Théberge's affections—and media attention: the *Citizen* capped its report with an above-the-fold front-page picture of the naughty director and offending puppy.

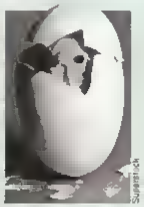


Andrée Rompré/CP

Pistache, Théberge

Don't butter us up

If you're looking for consistency in eating habits, you've come to the wrong country. A study released last week by Statistics Canada shows that even as we've cut back on some calorie-laden items, such as butter and high-fat milk, we're consuming more cheese and cream than we used to.

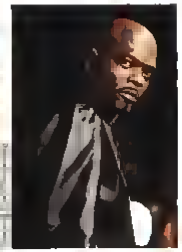


Scott Nichol

Good news, I say!

Average cheese consumption was 11.9 kg per person annually last year—up from 11 kg in 1990. Similarly, Canadians consumed 6.3 litres of cream last year, compared with 5.2 litres at the start of the decade. And egg consumption dropped to historically low levels during the decade, after bottoming out at 172 B eggs per person in 1995, it crept back up to 180 last year. The fastest-growing food favourite? No contest: over the last decade, rice consumption has risen by more than 60 per cent, from 4.9 kg to eight kg per person.





Shaft, '71 vintage; the all-new model (far right): cooool!!

Shafted, Again

Samuel L. Jackson had a vision for the new movie Shaft *that didn't match with the script he was given. "You want to stay true to the spirit of the original," says Jackson, "and there were a lot of things that just weren't Shaftean." Jackson says he pretty much took over the movie, but how was he able to revise it in a* Shaftean *image? You be the judge.*

John Shaft character
1971: As the Isaac Hayes' song says, he's a "private dick who's a sex machine to all the chicks"
2000. The new Shaft character, a cop, describes himself as "too black for the force and too blue for the brothers"

Sex
1971: Lots
2000. None

Villains
1971: Italian Mafia
2000. Dominican drug lord and overprivileged white kid

Clothes
1971: Brown leather jacket and turtleneck
2000: Double-breasted Armani suit and floor-length black leather coat

Sidekicks
1971: Black militant group
2000. Rapper and former beauty queen (actors who play Shaft's allies are Busta Rhymes and Vanessa Williams)

Lingo
1971: Can you dig it?
2000. I can dig it.

Overbites



Adam Scorgie/Fox/ATPI

"There are 4,000 people there and we're all related. Meet my dad, who's also my brother: you figure it out."
—L.A. morning anchor **Jillian Barberie** jokes about her Burlington, Ont., home town on *Live with Regis and Kathie Lee*



Kathy Willens/AP

"She's beautiful, gorgeous and I love her dress—hope she leaves it for me."
—**Kathie Lee Gifford** to *Maclean's* on Barbene

"I need a good whipping every once in a while, Reege. A good spanking."
—Barbene, known for her risqué remarks and revealing clothes, chats with co-host **Regis Philbin**

"You came to the right place, baby!"
—**Philbin**

Flush with pride

Canada has a new and legal product for export to the United States: larger-volume toilets. According to the 1992 U.S. Energy Policy Act, only 1.6-gallon toilets can be purchased and installed—while 3.5-gallon units are still permitted in Canada. They look mighty appealing to Americans when their water-saving porcelain thrones require extra flushing and plunging. The result: miffed Americans cross the border to buy bigger toilets. **Kurt Sutts**, owner of Veteran Plumbing & Supplies Ltd. in Windsor, Ont., says customers drive from Michigan, Illinois and Ohio, and phone in orders from as far as Florida and Texas. He adds that with the favourable exchange rate, "it starts with toilets but ends with sinks, faucets and so forth. They think it's the greatest thing in the world."

Derek Chezzi

Trend Watch

Bodies of art

Once the near-exclusive culture of sailors, soldiers and bikers, wearers of body art now include people of various ages and stages, ranging from stockbrokers to teachers. Proof of that came last weekend in the form of 3,000 aficionados who trekked to Toronto from across North America to attend the Northern Ink Xposure 2000 tattoo convention.



Derek Ellwood/Maclean's

A proud conventioneer

"It's blowing up right now across the country," says 31-year-old **Damian McGrath**, editor of *Tattoos.com*, a Toronto-based e-zine on the topic, and one of the convention's organizers. He estimates about four million Canadians carry tattoos—and adds that many are women, who make up 45 per cent of subscribers to his Web site.

"Once women started getting tattoos, it brought it into the mainstream," says McGrath. But you wouldn't know that walking down the street, he adds, because the first tattoo is often hidden from normal view. "Men tend to get them on their right shoulder and women on their lower back or bikini line." McGrath's advice, if you're thinking of a tattoo, is to pay for quality talent. Because, he says, "You'll never have a car that will last as long as a tattoo."

D. C.

PASSAGES

Awarded: At this year's National Hockey League Awards, held in Toronto, St. Louis Blues defenceman **Chris Pronger**, 25, was named most valuable player, and top defenceman, by hockey writers. Other big winners included New Jersey Devil **Scott Gomez**, rookie of the year; Washington Capital **Olaf Kolzig**, top goaltender; Florida Panther **Pavel Bure**, most goals; **Joel Quenneville** of the Blues, coach of the year; Blues' **Pavol Demitra**, most gentlemanly; and **Steve Yzerman** of the Detroit Red Wings, best defensive forward.



Died: Known as the "father of modern golf-course architecture," **Robert Trent Jones**, 93, designed 310 courses around the world. His courses have played host to 79 championships, including 20 U.S. Opens. Jones, who suffered a stroke last year, died in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., on the eve of this year's U.S. Open. "He probably planned this," said his son **Rees**. "The Open really was his angel."

Died: Former mayor of Calgary and Alberta lieutenant-governor **Grant MacEwan**, 97, worked as a farmer, historian, teacher, newspaper columnist and leader of the Liberal party in Alberta. The Brandon, Man., native was also the author of more than 50 books, including *Canadian Animal Husbandry*. He died in Calgary from complications following a serious fall.

Fired: After leading basketball's Toronto Raptors to their best season to date, head coach **Butch Carter**, 42, was canned. During the year, Carter brought a great deal of unwanted attention to his young club, including an ill-timed $5-million defamation lawsuit against one-time Raptor **Marcus Camby**. The Ohio native, who was promoted from assistant to head coach during the 1998-1999 season, is believed to have walked off with $6 million, the full amount of his three-year contract. Meanwhile, Raptors general manager **Glen Grunwald** began the search for Carter's replacement. One possibility: former Atlanta Hawks coach **Lenny Wilkins**.

Awarded: Canadian poet and scholar **Anne Carson**, 49, became the third Canadian in history to receive a U.S. MacArthur Foundation grant of $733,600. The McGill University professor joins Alberta archeologist **Peter Mathews** and Ontario scientist **Susan Werner Kieffer** as the only Canadians to win the "genius" award in the 23-year history of the foundation. Carson has written six books and has previously received a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Retiring: San Francisco 49er quarterback **Steve Young**'s ability to scramble in the backfield helped make him one of the most dangerous pivots in NFL history. However, the top-rated passer of all time was unable to sidestep the physical demands of the job. After four concussions in three years, Young, 38, a two-time MVP and a member of three Super Bowl-winning teams, announced that he is hanging up his jersey.

Died: Brazilian **Maria do Carmo Jetonimo** did not possess a birth certificate and for that reason she was not recognized by the *Guinness Book of Records* as the world's oldest woman. Church records proved that she was 129 years old. The onetime slave worked as a housemaid for 60 years, but was paralyzed by numerous strokes in her final years. She died in a hospital north of Rio de Janeiro.

Died: Empress Dowager **Nagako**, widow of Emperor **Hirohito** and widely seen as the last survivor of a more traditional, more exclusive Japanese royalty, died at the age of 97, a day after falling into a coma in Tokyo's royal palace. Nagako, herself a princess, was known in the Japanese media for her sometimes harsh treatment of her daughter-in-law **Michiko**, wife of the present emperor, **Akihito**, the first commoner to become empress.

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Anthony Wilson-Smith

Politics and private lives

Courage manifests itself in different ways. For proof of Jean Chrétien's steel, look to a period he likes least to talk about—early 1992, when the Chrétiens' adopted son, Michel, was on trial for sexual assault. On many days when the House of Commons was in session, the leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition used to attend morning court sessions in Montreal, drive to Ottawa for Question Period, then return to Montreal to spend the night. When courtroom sessions ended, the father would run interference through the waiting media for his embarrassed son. Chrétien asked for no sympathy. In fact, he refused to discuss the issue. When Michel was found guilty, his father sat in the front bench of the courtroom, offering support—as he has through Michel's imprisonment and since his 1996 parole.

For anyone with children, such an incident is close to your worst nightmare. Chrétien lived uncomplainingly through it, and shut up about it, because that's the way he is . . . and because, supposedly, you forfeit your right to complain about intrusions into your private life when you're in the public eye. In this case, the media left the Chrétiens pretty much alone, without probing questions: we journalists settled for *being* there, an ever-present reminder that while he might suffer in silence, he couldn't do so without us.

The point isn't so much to reproach reporters as to recall strains that politicians face daily. Last week, Ed Byrne, the 37-year-old leader of Newfoundland's Progressive Conservatives, quit the job after his three-year-old son, in the wake of his dad's frequent work-related absences, asked him: "Are you going to be my babysitter tonight?" Mike Harris attributed the breakup of his marriage to his wife, Janet, in part to strains of keeping separate households in his riding and Toronto. Lucien Bouchard's marriage to Audrey Best has endured, but he has complained of the strain of spending so much time in Quebec City away from her and their two sons in Montreal.

And those are *provincial* politicians. federally, it's worse. It can take an MP from the East or West Coast or Far North most of two days a week just to travel between Ottawa and home. Family concerns were a key reason why Albertan Stephen Harper, who was considered Preston Manning's heir-apparent, decided not to seek re-election in 1997 after his wife became pregnant. And it's not hard to see why Tom Long, whose wife just gave birth to a baby daughter, dithered so long before entering the Canadian Alliance leadership race.

The conundrum of modern-day politics is that we insist our elected officials try harder to understand us—while the system ensures it is impossible for them to *live* like the rest of us. When Parliament is in session, most MPs spend five days a week in Ottawa, and weekends in their ridings, attending social functions and meeting constituents. Spend too much time in your riding, and you squander hopes of advancement in Ottawa, where parliamentary performance is what counts. Too much time in Ottawa, and people at home decide you've forgotten who sent you there. MPs live parallel lives, they struggle to live like real people in their home ridings, and huddle together in Ottawa, two or three to an apartment, like overaged university students. Inevitably, something must give: too often, it's family time.

The wonder is that any sensible person gets involved in elected politics at all. By some estimates, it costs at least $120,000 to run a federal campaign from start to finish, including campaign material, advertising expenses and lost income. Losing candidates often end up wearing a large part of that debt themselves. If you're the main breadwinner of a family that earns the statistical average of about $50,000 a year, how can you gamble like that? If you earn much more, why even think about it? MPs earn $66,900 a year, with $22,100 in tax-free expenses. For that, we're talking a profession in which practitioners are routinely reviled in the media and in person. Nate Nurgitz, a smart, decent, devoted former senator from Manitoba who later became a judge, used to drop mention of his senator's title in casual social situations—it wasn't worth the diatribes.

Why does anyone bother? You get a sense of both the joys and personal costs involved in *Shaughnessy: The Passionate Politics of Shaughnessy Cohen*, a new book about the late Liberal MP by journalist Susan Delacourt. Shaughn—known by first name to all—collapsed and died of a brain aneurysm on the floor of the House of Commons on Dec. 9, 1998. Bold, bossy, big-hearted, exuberant and profane, she was something of a legend around Parliament Hill and her own Windsor area. Shaughn got into it because she loved the biz, the people involved and all the buzz around it: she made things work because she was lucky and blessed to have a husband, university professor Jerry Cohen, who loved her enough to make the necessary sacrifices of their private time.

Delacourt's lovely, moving book provides a vivid look at a remarkable person, and the remarkably unsettled lives that MPs live. No matter their persuasion, politicians have a unique bond—like kids sharing summer camp in hell. When the highly partisan Shaughn fell, it prompted an outpouring of grief and tribute from all parties. At the same time, many participants took stock of their own lives. You don't have to like your MP, or policies he or she stands for. But it's tough out there being them—more so than most of us will ever understand. This summer, if only for a while, let's cut 'em all some slack.



Peter C. Newman

Why should Canada be divisible?

Here we are, about to celebrate the country's 133rd birthday, yet we're still seriously debating whether we should split apart or stay together. Whether we should throw away the impressive history we've made, or insist that Canada is damn well indivisible and settle down to enjoying this bountiful land of ours. That quandary has been the topic of heated debates in the Senate of late. The proceedings have not only wakened the senators out of their customary slumber, but could make a lot of history.

Constitutional debates appeal only to destiny-seeking politicians, lawyers who feed off legal subtleties or earnest patriots who write letters to hosts of CBC-FM discussion programs, eat alfalfa and cut their own hair. Which is too bad because the outcome of the current debate in the Red Chamber is a zero-sum game.

At issue is the fate of Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's Bill C-20, which next to his silly statements about there being no brain drain, makes up his political legacy. There is little doubt that C-20 for the first time legitimizes Canada's breakup, calling as it does for Ottawa-Quebec negotiations that could approve the province's independence, providing certain conditions had been met. Those conditions, such as forcing the separatists to pose a clear question in the next referendum ("So you really want to break up the country, eh?") are not the substance of the Senate dispute. The squabble centres on a much more fundamental issue: why shouldn't Canada, like most nations with a respectable history, simply not allow itself to be split asunder? The first section in France's Constitution, for example, pointedly declares: "France is an indivisible republic." Why should Canada's territorial integrity not be similarly inviolate: why are we divisible, when other countries aren't?

This isn't a hypothetical constitutional argument, it goes to the very marrow of the political will that allows nation-states to exist and prosper. Canada might well eventually break up. No country is forever. But the Liberal senators who oppose C-20 contend that at no point did the Liberal Party of Canada anoint its leader with the revolutionary mandate to dissolve the country. The contrarian senators insist that even if a solid majority of Quebec's citizens decide to set up their own republic, Ottawa must not negotiate the province's departure without first consulting all Canadians in a referendum or election.

The most moving testimony on the issue came from Senator Michael Pitfield, the scion of a wealthy Montreal family who spent most of his life in the top levels of Canada's public service, including six years as Pierre Trudeau's clerk of the Privy Council. "I never thought I'd see the day," Pitfield told a Senate committee, "the Liberal party came down in favour of disunity of the country."

Senator Serge Joyal, who once served in the Trudeau cabinet and co-chaired the 1980 parliamentary committee on patriating the Constitution, bluntly asked Intergovernmental Affairs Minister Stephane Dion at what point the Liberal party had given its leader the mandate to break up the country. "The government of Canada does not have the right, nor the moral, legitimate and legal authority to put an end to Canada without at least consulting Canadians, who are the true holders of the political sovereignty of this country," Joyal declared. Dion hid behind the Supreme Court ruling that while Quebec could not unilaterally separate, Ottawa would have to negotiate the issue if a referendum produced a clear majority to secede. "If Canadians acknowledge our country is divisible," Dion shot back at Joyal, "it's not because we feel that our citizenship carries with it any fewer values than that of other countries. On the contrary [...] our country makes sense only if based on mutual consent."

Joyal's problem is that Canada's Constitution doesn't specifically state that the country is indivisible. But all laws operate on precedent. Indeed, shortly after Confederation, the Nova Scotia legislature, dissatisfied with its terms of entry, voted to withdraw from the 1867 union. The province was politely told to buzz off, because Canada was, at least implicitly, indivisible. Similarly, Trudeau and Chrétien both declared during the Quebec referendums that took place during their time in office that they had no mandate to dismantle the country.

It's difficult to judge if the current wrangle will someday decide the country's future, or will soon be forgotten as a nasty bit of political posturing. Constitutions—all laws—are like that. It's like good health—you don't appreciate it until you lose it. There's a wonderful exchange in Robert Bolt's masterful play, *A Man for All Seasons*, in which Sir Thomas More, Chancellor of England under Henry VIII, is discussing the rule of law with a cynical aide. "I know what's legal, not what's right," he says, "and I'll stick to what's legal."

"So you'd give the Devil the benefit of law?" replies the dubious assistant.

"Yes. What would you do? Cut a great road through the law to get after the Devil?"

"I'd cut down every law in England to do that!"

"Oh," replies the thoughtful Chancellor, "and when the last law was done and the devil turned around on you—where would you hide?"

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ABUSE OF TRUST

What happened behind the walls of residential church schools is a tragedy that has left native victims traumatized

By Jane O'Hara



The Gordon school, Miles Anderson (right) beatings

The school is gone now. But the hill where it stood is visible, down a dusty gravel road, from Lorne Pratt's grandmother's house on the George Gordon First Nation in Saskatchewan. Sitting at the kitchen table, Pratt looks out the window and remembers the evening when, as a 12-year-old student, he tried to commit suicide on the second floor of the old brick residence—the only way he could think of to escape the constant sexual abuse he had suffered over a five-year period. Now 32, an elegant man with high cheekbones and deep, sad eyes, Pratt recalls how he wrapped an elastic belt around his neck and hanged himself from the metal frame of his bunk bed, feeling the elastic pull, struggling for breath, finally blacking out. He was saved when school employees cut him down and rushed him to a hospital in Regina, where he remained in a coma for five days. When he was finally discharged, he was sent home to his mother, Leona, in Saskatoon—never to return to the school. "It was," Pratt says, "the happiest day of my life."

The story of native residential schools is an ignoble chapter in Canadian history. For more than a century, well over 100,000 aboriginal children attended the institutions, jointly run by Ottawa and four Canadian churches. In all, around 20 per cent of natives, often the poorest from families in crisis, went to the schools. Over the years, politicians and bureaucrats tried to describe the schools in lofty terms; 19th-century documents said the facilities would keep the children "within the circle of civilized conditions" where they would get the "care of a mother." Underlying the lofty rhetoric was one disastrous goal: assimilation by stripping aboriginals of their language and culture.

For generations, the drastically underfunded system subjected defenceless children to emotional, physical and sexual abuse. Among the scarring indignities: children burned with cigarettes and punched in the ear so hard they lost their hearing. Understandably, many victims are now fighting back, demanding compensation for the agonies they endured. What began as a whisper of litigation in the mid-1990s has now become a storm: to date, a staggering 6,324 native plaintiffs (not including class-action suits) are suing the federal government and, in many cases, the Roman Catholic, United, Anglican and Presbyterian churches. Some are seeking damages for sexual and physical abuse, but 90 per cent of plaintiffs also allege cultural loss—a claim as yet untested in the courts. Should these actions be successful, they could cost the government and churches billions of dollars. And potential payouts notwithstanding, legal fees alone, experts say, will almost certainly bankrupt some churches (page 22)

In a disturbing turn, the legal chaos has also pitted natives against other aboriginals. Beginning in the late 1960s, when





Faron Nippi: the dorms were volatile, dangerous places

Jane O'Hara/Maclean's

the churches began to withdraw from administering the schools and Ottawa assumed sole responsibility, native workers took on an increasingly important role in the institutions, becoming dormitory supervisors, child-care workers, sports coaches and the like. Some of them, victims allege, helped perpetuate the abuse—even participated in it. "It's been a matter of time, but it's coming out of the woodwork now," says Bobby Nippi, a 31-year-old member of the Kinistin band north of Saskatoon who spent 10 years at Gordon and received a healthy financial settlement in 1997. "People are suing—and they are naming a lot of the native child-care workers." In many cases, native abusers were themselves products of the residential system, underscoring an ugly legacy. In institutionalizing abuse, the schools ensured that those on the receiving end often became abusers themselves.

In the end, that means little to those still trying to come to terms with what they endured as children. Someone must pay, they say, be it churches, governments, natives or non-natives. It is a corrosive battle, one that is fuelled by the aggressive recruiting tactics of lawyers hunting for clients. Ultimately, the lawyers may emerge as the only clear winners in the high-stakes legal manoeuvring. "I worry about the suits being conducted by non-Indian lawyers who don't know a thing about Indians or who don't care," said Patricia Monture-Angus, a professor in the University of Saskatchewan's native studies department. "Now, we're making white millionaires over more Indian pain."

Aboriginal victims are taking action against native workers who, they say, helped perpetuate the abuse

The Gordon reserve lies 100 km north of Regina, containing 145 square kilometres of rolling scrubland and 1,200 inhabitants among whom the unemployment rate is as high as 80 per cent. The residential school was torn down shortly after it closed in 1996, but it has been ground zero in the grim game of litigation. It is the first—and so far the only—such institution for which the federal government, which took it over from the Anglicans in 1969, settled a large number of claims out of court. About 230 plaintiffs, from both on and off the reserve, received between $25,000 and $150,000 each because of sexual abuse they say they suffered at the school. But instead of bringing justice, the federal payouts have stirred up further bitterness. Some plaintiffs now want more and plan to sue again—wondering why their payments were so low when other survivors of institutional sexual abuse, like the victims at the Mount Cashel orphanage in Newfoundland, received on average three times as much. Still others are angry that many perpetrators of abuse have not been punished.

One who was brought to justice was the school administrator still referred to respectfully as "*Mr.* Starr" by many of his former students. William Starr worked at Gordon from 1968 to 1984 and was, on the surface, a fatherly figure. He also enjoyed an unimpeded 16-year run of pedophilia at Gordon by enticing impoverished boys into having sex, then buying their silence with money, arcade games and clothes. He took some on trips—on one evening outing to Regina, he left the boys in a car until 2 a.m. while he gambled at a casino—then took them to the Imperial 400 motel and had sex with them. In 1993, Starr pleaded guilty to charges of sexual assault on 10 students and was sentenced to 4½ years in prison. But those convictions do not come close to reflecting the horrible scope of Starr's alleged activities of the 230 Gordon school plaintiffs who received a federal settlement, all claimed to have been abused by Starr.

Many former Gordon students say Starr was not the only guilty party. Bobby Nippi's brother Faron, 27, of Saskatoon claims that many native workers at the school knew Starr was sexually assaulting students. But they did nothing to stop it. Instead, staffers called the students hars—or humiliated them. "They used to call us 'fag' and 'Starr's baby,' " says Faron Nippi, who spent 14 years at Gordon and has launched his own civil suit for sexual and physical abuse.

Others remember being abused by the native staff. Among them is native artist Miles Anderson, 33, who spent eight years at the Gordon school and received a $50,000 settlement because of abuse by Starr. One of 16 children, Anderson lost his mother at the age of 6. A year later, he was sent to Gordon. Anderson and a friend often tried to run away. The man usually sent to bring them back, Anderson says, was brutal. Once, he recalls, he picked Anderson up by the hair and threw him against a wall. And Anderson remembers another beating by the same worker, administered when he was 11: "He banged our heads together so hard he knocked us both out cold. Then he beat us after we were out."

In 1997, Pratt was among those who received a federal payout for abuse suffered at Gordon. But Starr, he says, was not the only person who terrorized him. Pratt, who now lives just off the Gordon reserve in Punnichy, claims that an aboriginal dorm supervisor came to his bed one night and raped him. "That man shouldn't get away with it," says his mother, one of three generations of her family who attended residential school. Another man who refused to be named told *Maclean's* that this same supervisor, who often came to work late smelling of alcohol, repeatedly assaulted him where he slept: dormitory Room 209. "The thing about abuse is that it keeps coming back," he said, growing agitated as he recalled his experiences. "Now I'm trembling. I get anxiety attacks. I don't feel like going out anywhere."

Some native abusers have already appeared before the courts. In 1993, William Strongeagle, a former judo instructor at the school, was convicted of sexually assaulting an 18-year-old former Gordon student, Betty Nippi, in May, 1988—while his wife watched. He received a year on probation and a $735 fine. Nippi, who says she was taken in by the couple after falling on hard times when she left the school, says she was not alone in attracting Strongeagle's unwanted attention. "He would befriend young girls at the school, sign them out for the weekend and then buy them drinks and drugs," says the now-30-year-old woman, who just graduated with a certificate in business administration from the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College.



Jane O'Hara/Maclean's

Bobby Nippi: 'the weaker ones were prey to the stronger ones'

Meanwhile, at least four women have filed lawsuits against Melvin McNab, a native child-care worker at Gordon, alleging sexual and physical assault. Another native child-care worker at Gordon, Greg Bratushesky, is being sued for physical abuse. (None of the allegations against the two workers has been tested in court.) During his time at the school, Bratushesky was officially reprimanded on a number of occasions by the Indian affairs department for brutality. Tony Merchant, a Regina lawyer whose firm is handling thousands of residential-school lawsuits, says that about 25 per cent of his cases involve alleged native abusers.

But abuse begets abuse—and many say it all began with a rotten system. "It is learned behaviour," says Bob Joseph, chief of the Gwa-wa-enuk band and the executive director of the B.C. residential school project in Vancouver, founded in

THE LEGACY OF SHAME

1879 Sir John A. Macdonald's government decides to set up church run boarding schools in order to remove native children from their homes and begin assimilating them into white culture.

1894 Bowing to pressure from missionaries, Ottawa passes an amendment to the Indian Act making attendance for native children mandatory at the schools.

1947 The United Church wants residential schools shut down in favour of non-denominational day schools, citing harm to children in being separated from their families. Over the next two decades, many do close.

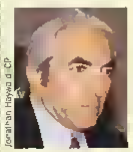
1969 Ottawa takes over full management of the 60 remaining schools from the churches.

1973 A new federal policy gives control of native education to the bands and tribal councils.

1979 The United Church becomes the first church to apologize to its native congregations.

1989 The first residential school lawsuit is filed in British Columbia.

1990 Phil Fontaine, grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations and then-leader of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, states publicly that he was sexually and physically abused at the residential school in Fort Alexander, Man., during the 1950s.



Jonathan Hayward/CP

1996 Former students of the Mount Cashel Orphanage in Newfoundland, which was run by the Christian Brothers, settle sexual abuse claims with the provincial government for $11 million, adding to the momentum for natives to also press for damages. In that same year, the $58-million Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples releases its report denouncing the effects of native residential schools.

1999 The last residential school in Canada, on the Gordon reserve in Saskatchewan, closes its doors and is subsequently torn down.

1999 Then-Indian Affairs Minister Jane Stewart offers an apology to natives for residential schools and announces the establishment of a $350-million healing fund.

2000 The number of individual plaintiffs in residential school lawsuits reaches 6,324, as churches begin to publicly voice concerns that the legal process will bankrupt them.



ratt, a suicide attempt
t an effort to escape
nstant sexual abuse

1994 to provide counselling for abuse victims "We have a lot of pedophiles in our own communities—and they learned this in residential school." Former students say that was certainly the case at Gordon, where the dorms were volatile, dangerous places filled with physical violence and sexual predators. Faron Nippi blames Starr, saying that the administrator taught the boys to have sex with one another "The weaker ones were the sexual prey to the stronger ones," adds his brother Bobby "They were like the ladies of the dorm We were groomed to be sexual offenders."

The lawsuits will take years to wind their way through the courts As far as the Gordon school is concerned, the federal government put the brakes on any more settlements after complaints that some natives had made up allegations against Starr just to get money. "I know someone who never spent a night in that school and he got more money than I did," says Anderson "I had people coming to me and saying, 'Hey, if I made up a story, what would I have to say?' "

But Ottawa has also indulged in some fancy legal dancing Last year, the justice department named the Gordon band as a co-defendant in three abuse lawsuits (Indian Affairs officials

A minority of former students

say that, despite some terrible times, they were better off in residence

say they may take similar action with at least four other reserves because of the number of alleged native abusers named in suits.) The government maintains that from 1975 until the closure of the Gordon school in 1996, the band had an advisory board in place that was responsible for administering the school—and by implication, was probably aware of what was happening That is certainly the view of some Gordon victims "We have leadership that has gone through this system and now they want to cover it up," says Bobby Nippi. "They could have stopped it But our bands were not there for us then and they don't give a rat's ass about us now."

Bryan McNabb, Gordon's current chief, disputes that assertion, although he admits there were "rumours" about abuse As for Ottawa's move to name his band as a co-defendant, he calls it "re-victimizing the victims—Indians never asked for these schools." Maybe not. But in the 1940s and 1950s, during parliamentary hearings on revising the Indian Act, a slim majority of Indian bands, as well as regional and national native organizations, said they were in favour not only of residential schools but also of keeping the religious component In the 1960s, when the churches and federal government wanted to close certain schools, some Indian bands pleaded to have them remain open "There were a variety of reasons why communities desired the retention of the residential facilities," says J. R Miller, a history professor at the University of Saskatchewan and the author of *Shingwauk's Vision*, a well-respected 1996 book about native residential schools "It all depended on the degree to which the community could mobilize."

In communities where there was a lot of family breakdown, residential schools provided a much-needed social service. They were also a source of native employment. In a 1962 letter, Ruth Gorman, the lawyer representing then-Chief George Labelle and the councillors of Alberta's Stoney band implored the United Church to stop the government from closing the area school. "It will be a great tragedy if this famous United Church mission school is closed. The Indians are only asking for a halfway chance to educate their children." The school survived for seven more years Today, hundreds of members of the Stoney band and other local bands are suing the federal government, ironically, one is Madeline Labelle, the niece of the former chief who once fought to keep the school open

Natives want justice, but the flood of residential-school litigation is also being fed by some lawyers who smell a financial bonanza Their aggressive recruiting tactics—and contingency fees that run as high as 40 per cent—have raised the ire of many aboriginal leaders No one is denying that natives should have the right to pursue claims Some aboriginal spokesmen, though, complain that the high legal fees are exploitative—and that the adversarial court system may not be the proper venue for dredging up painful memories

The search for clients continues, however. A year ago, Connie Dieter, who worked as the director of justice for Saskatchewan's File Hills Qu'Appelle Tribal Council, attended a native information meeting organized by aboriginal clients of a Regina law firm Dieter arrived to champion an alternative dispute-resolution process that would be set up by Indian Affairs to mediate claims Meanwhile, though, forms from the law firm were handed out to the 20 people in the room, who then broke into small groups to discuss what happened to them at residential school and "trigger memories" for one another Dieter was appalled at the firm's tactics "They were flashing the promise of money at these people who were poor," she says "Triggering emotions like that was dangerous and irresponsible. I told them they were despicable—I called them bottom feeders." Dieter was asked to leave—by the natives

The recruiting tactics have taken many forms Some lawyers have obtained school class lists and band lists—then hired "headhunters" on reserves to organize meetings Others have posted notices in bars and native friendship centres Most have fanned out to reserves, looking for residential-school alumni Some of the tactics have raised ethical eyebrows; last June, the Law Society of Saskatchewan faxed a rule change to every law firm in the province clamping down on pressure tactics towards those deemed to be in a "weakened state." Arthur Anderson, a 63-year-old native minister who was ordained into the Anglican Church in 1988, has been disgusted by some of the antics. "These lawyers show up any time there's an Indian gathering," says Anderson, who looks after five rural parishes from his home base in Lumsden, Sask. "They are taking advantage of a passive people who have had their will and intellect taken away by the government and the churches."

Not so, says Halifax lawyer John McKiggan, who for the past four years has represented an organization of former students of the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, run by the Catholics Of the 2,000 surviving students who attended the school, McKiggan has "tracked down" about 900—some who have moved as far away as Florida. When he started, he had one huge problem. He knew the government was only settling sexual abuse claims and he had none that would stand up in court Undeterred, McKiggan, who confers monthly with residential-school lawyers across the country, says he came up with a solution. "I said, 'Let's not just go after sexual abuse, let's start a suit on behalf of everyone who ever attended the school because even kids who never had a band laid on them came out with horrible emotional scars.' "

That kind of blanket condemnation enrages a sizable minority of former students, some of whom still practise the faith of the institution they attended or regularly keep in touch with instructors Some go so far as to say that despite some terrible times with a sadistic teacher, they were better off at residence. Irene Hoff is an 81-year-old member of the Odanak reserve outside Montreal. In 1930, at the age of 10, she was sent to the Chapleau Anglican Indian Residential School in Northern Ontario where she lived for seven years. One of 10 children from an impoverished family, she went, Hoff says, "with my mother's blessing—she wanted me to get an education." She recalls that, contrary to popular belief, no government or church official forced her mother to send her children to school. Hoff, who worked as an administrative assistant in Indian Affairs after her schooling, says the only abuse she saw was from older girls brutally bullying younger ones.

www.maclean.ca for links

Residential-school litigation, she says, is all about money "It's a sore point with me, all this bad-mouthing of the schools," Hoff adds. "If a lawyer came to my door, I wouldn't let him in."

Others have. Regina lawyer Merchant has used the instincts of a bloodhound, aboriginal contacts in the four western provinces, letters and advertisements in the native media to amass 4,300 clients "Once word got around that we were interested, our market share took off," says the tall, lean lawyer "We have toll-free lines One woman at a healing lodge in Hobbema has sent me more than 200 clients." Merchant maintains that the court system is the best way for residential-school survivors to get "financial and emotional closure" for the ills they suffered



Brian Kng-n, Leader Post



Brian Schlosser/Aboriginal Legal Services of Toronto

Starr, Merchant (below): thousands of plaintiffs

Merchant's seven-page solicitation letter includes a sample retainer agreement It starts with an invitation "We write to encourage you to join with others who are suing the federal government for wrongdoing in the Indian residential schools." The letter asks potential clients to fill out a two-page questionnaire Among the requested information "Describe, in as much detail as you can, any abuse of any form that you may have suffered", and "Do you recall the names of anyone who approached you sexually or did sexual things to you against your will? If you do not recall their names, do you recall whether they were male or female, and whether they were white This would include staff or other students."

Such tactics have raised the ire of the Law Society of Saskatchewan, which recently levelled three charges against Merchant And not all former residential-school students have been quick to jump on the bandwagon Last year, in response to entreaties by Merchant, one Saskatchewan native blasted back "I will not tell you again, leave me the f—— alone," came the reply neatly typed on the Merchant solicitation "In the residential school, I learned how to fend for myself I also learned how to work so I do not need any of your little settlement dollars I will not tell you again to leave me alone Next time, I will sue you for harassing me." In the legal chaos now surrounding residential schools, that would be the ultimate irony: the lawyers themselves being sued.

With Patricia Treble in Toronto



Dunbow, Alta., staff and students in front of Sisters' residence in 1888 staggering

NO FORGIVING

Canada's largest churches are reeling under litigation costs arising from their days running native residential schools

By Jane O'Hara

It was not your standard sermon. When Rev. Chris Rushton spoke from the pulpit at St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church in downtown Ottawa three months ago, his topic was native residential schools and the role of Canada's Oblate orders in running them. Most congregants were aware that such schools had existed—in a long-ago time, in some faraway place. But suddenly Rushton's message hit close to home. After outlining residential-school litigation against his own order, the Oblates of St. Peter's Province, Rushton said that St. Joseph's—a city landmark that also runs a soup kitchen and a women's centre—was among the Oblate-owned assets that were vulnerable should settlements force the order to start liquidating assets. "I can understand them sitting in the pews there and saying 'Oh my gosh,' " said Rushton, his order's provincial superior. "St. Joe's would be the last asset to go. But does anybody really want to it be sold? Lives for 150 years have been connected to this place."

Canada's largest Christian churches—Catholic, United, Anglican and Presbyterian—are being swamped by thousands of residential-school lawsuits. For more than a century, these religious denominations ran and managed the residential schools for the federal government, which paid for them. In many cases, the suits now threatening the economic viability of the churches have been filed by former students. But an increasing number have been launched by the federal government, which has started so-called third-partying—taking legal action to make the churches co-defendants in residential-school suits filed against Ottawa. That, on top of the lawsuits already facing the churches, has created a situation "unprecedented in Canadian society," says Cynthia Gunn, the United Church's in-house lawyer, who mainly handles residential-school lawsuits. "In terms of the volume and the number of claims coming forward, no one's seen anything like this before."

The churches *are* reeling. As of May 1, 6,324 individual plaintiffs had filed civil suits against Ottawa and the churches. According to the federal government, that number could double. Church officials argue that just defending these suits—let alone settling them—will almost certainly bankrupt some parishes, religious orders and dioceses. Recently, officials of the Anglican Church, Canada's third-largest religious organization with 2.2-million members, announced that the general synod—the church's national head office in Toronto—will be bankrupted by next year should the legal battles continue. Those settlements could reach into the billions, the general synod, which is fielding about 350 suits by 1,600 plaintiffs, has assets totalling about $10 million. "It's out of control," says Jim Cruickshank, the Anglican bishop of the Cariboo diocese in the B.C. interior, which has run through its own cash reserves and is all but legally bankrupt. How far out of control? In an ongoing case involving the St. George's school in Lytton, B.C., Cruickshank says his diocese can no longer afford to send a lawyer to court every day.

The United Church, which has assets of about $4 billion, has yet to use the "b-word," says Brian Thorpe, but the organization's senior adviser for residential-school issues admits that the costs of mounting legal defences have become staggering. "Settlements are one thing," he said, "but it's the cost of litigation that is killing us." Thorpe, who began his Toronto-based job two months ago, says the United Church now has nine lawyers working on lawsuits from 450 plaintiffs that have been filed against the institution.

All that legal brainpower hasn't come cheap. Last year alone, the United Church spent $2.3 million in legal costs. For all that, only one case has gone to court. That trial, now in its third laborious year, involves the sexual abuse of 30 students at the Port Alberni Indian Residential School on Vancouver Island. The slow pace has proved a difficult wait for some of the plaintiffs. Recently, 22 of them settled out of court with the United Church and the federal government. This came after a British Columbia judge ruled in 1998 that both Ottawa and the church were "vicariously liable" for abuse in the school.

It was a stunning defeat for the churches. Last August, that was compounded when another B.C. Supreme Court judge ruled that the Anglican general synod and the Cariboo diocese were liable for 60 per cent of an undisclosed amount of damages owed to a student who was sexually abused at the St. George's school. The federal government was apportioned the remaining 40 per cent. The settlement was paid, but the synod is now appealing, arguing Ottawa should pay a larger percentage. "We were there, we participated, but there's no question it was a federal system," says Thorpe of the residential schools. "It was public policy that created them."

In his spartan Regina office, the Right Rev. Duncan Wallace, Anglican bishop of the Saskatchewan diocese of Qu'Appelle, is on the front lines of residential-school litigation. When asked how many lawsuits there are against his diocese, he smiles and says they are so numerous the lawyer doesn't bother sending him full copies of the statements of claim anymore. But he acknowledges there are up to 350 lawsuits, and says the justice department is behind most of them, bringing third-party actions against the diocese. "Once you get into those numbers it's all meaningless," Wallace says. "We only have funds to deal with the first 50 or so." Wallace says the suits have cost his already teetering diocese $250,000 over the past two years—"that's without a single settlement"—and will probably force it into bankruptcy (his diocese's annual operating budget is only $650,000). And he fears that church donations could start dropping off if people think their contributions are going into a pit of litigation.

The churches have formed an alliance to extricate themselves from the morass of lawsuits—with Ottawa's help. One option would be for the government to pay the churches' legal costs. Under another plan now under discussion with Ottawa, the churches would contribute a predetermined amount of money to a larger federal fund. It would then be distributed to former residential-schools students. But getting Ottawa on side is only part of the battle. Convincing natives still embittered by what they endured in residential schools to go along with the scheme may prove to be an even greater challenge. m

WHO RAN THE SCHOOLS?

Organization	Number of schools*	Number of students according to 1991 census (percentage of total)	Number of plaintiffs	Number of settlements	Amount paid	Legal costs (1999)
ROMAN CATHOLIC	70	66,250 (65%)	4,110*	23	confidential	$2 million
ANGLICAN	37	23,100 (22%)	1,600	1	confidential	$1.5 million
UNITED	14	10,500 (10%)	450	22	confidential	$2.3 million
PRESBYTERIAN	4	1,050 (1%)	76	0	0	not applicable
GOVERNMENT (includes non-denominational and native-run schools)†	7	2,100 (2%)	6,324††	291	$27.5 million**	$6 million

* government figures. ** includes legal fees and court costs.
† while most schools were run by the four churches for the federal government, a few schools were administered directly by the government and/or other organizations. †† total number of individual plaintiffs suing government and/or the churches.

Sources: Department of Indian Affairs, above churches and religious organizations

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine
Maclean's

PORTRAITS IN
EXCELLENCE

Celebrate excellence—Canadian style—with Maclean's special July 1st issue.



Candid portraits and a special Canada Day forum put the spotlight on some of our country's most noted achievers, people who are recognized both at home and abroad as leaders in their fields. Maclean's will share these remarkable individuals' secrets of success and their visions for Canada's future — particularly how our country can move to the forefront of a global, wired world.

Watch for Portraits in Excellence in Maclean's July 1st issue, on newsstands June 26.

ROGERS MEDIA

Bernardo's lawyer acquitted

Ken Murray, the former lawyer for sex killer Paul Bernardo, was acquitted of obstructing justice by keeping videotapes showing Bernardo and his former wife, Karla Homolka, assaulting their victims. Ontario Superior Court Justice Patrick Gravely said there was a reasonable doubt Murray intended to impede the course of justice.

Latimer case in high court

The Supreme Court of Canada reserved decision after a day of hearings into the second-degree murder conviction of Wilkie, Sask., farmer Robert Latimer for the 1993 killing of his severely disabled daughter, Tracy. Latimer was convicted in 1997 and sentenced to two years in jail. The Saskatchewan Court of Appeal overturned the sentencing decision and imposed the mandatory sentence of life in prison with no chance of parole for 10 years. Lawyers for Latimer, who says it was a mercy killing, argued for the more lenient sentence.

Alliance popular in Quebec?

A battle broke out in the Canadian Alliance party following reports that leadership candidate Tom Long had signed up 2,800 members in Quebec's Gaspé region. Supporters of other candidates questioned that success, with some suggesting memberships were paid for. Meanwhile, Long's Quebec organizers accused rivals of intolerance towards Quebecers.

Back to school for Canadians

Canada is in the middle of the pack among 20 industrialized countries when it comes to literacy. According to an Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development study, more than 40 per cent of Canadian adults tested below the literacy level deemed minimum for everyday tasks.

Fatal voyage

Two 12-year-old children on a school outing drowned when a 12-m tour boat sank in choppy waters on Lake Huron's Georgian Bay. Eighteen survivors, including 13 other Grade 7 students from nearby Tiverton, Ont., made their way 400 m to shore.



Clashing demonstrators and Toronto riot police: Molotov cocktails and rocks

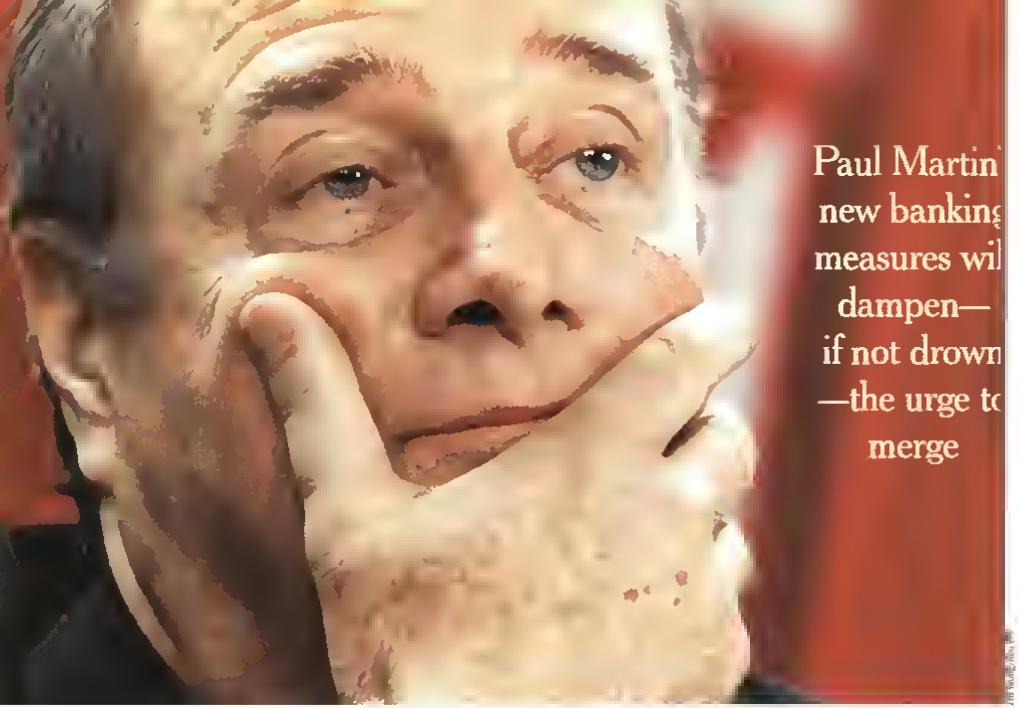
A violent protest against poverty

It was, in the view of some, the worst altercation the Ontario legislature has ever witnessed. A gathering of about 1,000 anti-poverty demonstrators turned violent last week as some protesters threw Molotov cocktails and rocks at Toronto police. Mounted officers responded by charging the crowd, while police in riot gear beat protesters with batons. The riot began when John Clarke, a leader of the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, was denied access to the legislature to address MPPs. Thirty people were arrested as recriminations flew. "Your government has caused more than enough misery in this province," said an open letter from the protesters. Responded Premier Mike Harris: "You don't need violence to get me that message."

For the Conservatives, the riot may have been a brief blessing in disguise. It diverted attention from their biggest political disaster yet: the *E. coli* outbreak in Walkerton, Ont., and allegations that Tory cuts in environmental protection may have contributed to it. Last week, Walkerton's former mayor, Jim Bolden, said that in June, 1998, he had sent a letter to Harris expressing concerns about Walkerton's water. Harris, Bolden said, didn't respond. Not so, retorted the premier's office, which released a copy of a reply to Bolden, thanking him for informing the premier about "council's resolutions regarding the realignment of provincial-municipal services."

Gun law upheld

The Supreme Court of Canada came down on the side of the federal gun-control program by declaring the Firearms Act constitutional. The law, passed in 1995, requires that all gun owners get licences by the end of this year and register their firearms by Jan. 1, 2003. But several provinces have consistently said they will not enforce the law. "We will leave that to the federal government," said Saskatchewan Justice Minister Chris Axworthy. Alberta Premier Ralph Klein said he would lobby Ottawa to change the legislation. Alberta, supported by seven other provinces, had challenged the law, arguing that guns are private property and cannot be regulated by the federal government. The high court countered that the law was passed in the spirit of protecting the public.



Business

Obstacle Course

By John Geddes

An optimistic banker might call the new federal regulations on bank mergers an approval process. But there aren't many optimists left in Canada's big banks after the battering they took when two such marriages were rejected in 1998. So the rules set out by Finance Minister Paul Martin last week were greeted by the unhappy lords of the vault as a *dis*approval process. To say Martin erected hurdles is putting it mildly. What banks aiming to merge will face is more like the regulatory equivalent of an extreme-sports obstacle course: two sets of technical reviews, public hearings run by what would be, in all likelihood, a hostile House of Commons committee, and, in the end, the finance minister himself reserving the power to say yea or nay. "This process means you want to tread really carefully," said former Canadian Bankers Association president Helen Sinclair. "You want to consider whether, in the political world, you are really thought of as a top priority."

Any bank president who still imagines that his merger aspirations rank as a top priority in Ottawa would have to possess an unshakably sunny disposition. But after Martin tabled his mind-numbing 897 pages of financial-sector legislation, the view from the corner offices was distinctly overcast. Of course, most of the big banks—accused in the past of displaying a haughty disrespect for the finance minister—issued carefully worded statements accepting the new regime. It was left to outsiders to voice the sharpest criticisms about how Canadian banks will continue to face political constraints unknown to their bigger, faster-consolidating foreign rivals. "Deliberately leaving such a heavily politicized ingredient in the merger-review process," chided William Robson, director of research at the C. D. Howe Institute, a business-oriented Toronto think-tank, "looks like a shortsighted step."

Martin insisted that, far from shackling the banks, his reforms set the ground rules for a more agile financial-services sector. Once his law is passed—likely late this year, assuming no fall election—banks will be allowed to spin off lucrative niche businesses, such as credit-card units, into subsidiaries that would be less heavily regulated than their main deposit-and-lending operations. As well, banks will be able to form bigger strategic alliances, with a single investor allowed to own up to 20 per cent of a major Canadian bank instead of the previous 10-per-cent limit. David Mootcroft, the Royal Bank of Canada's vice-president of public affairs, predicted some will seek out investment links with Internet service companies. "That's where I see it going outside the traditional financial sector," he said. "The delivery network of the past was bricks and mortar, the delivery network of the future is going to be information technology."

While the banks get new manoeuvring room, so do their smaller competitors. Credit unions will be allowed to link up in new national ventures, and the barriers to launching new banks will be lowered, which could entice major retailers into starting their own lending operations.



Corner bank in Shelbourne, Ont.; Martin (opposite). importance in communities

Taken together, these changes gave Martin a solid argument that his package is about a lot more than making it tough for banks to merge. "This legislation recognizes that strong, efficient and profitable financial institutions are vital to Canada's economic well-being," he said. In fact, Martin denied that the merger question was even a central concern. Still, no other issue in banking policy generates so much controversy, and it was on this issue that Martin found himself under attack—from both left and right. Conservative MP Scott Brison said Martin has given himself "unfettered power," while the NDP's Lorne Nystrom said he is "making himself a banking czar." But Martin was unrepentant about holding onto the hammer when it comes to mergers. "Ultimately the government of Canada has the right to make the decision," he told the House. "And, obviously, that voice is expressed through that of the minister of finance."

Bank officials, though, privately complained that there is no obvious need for a political judgment on whether two banks should be allowed to join forces. In the United States, a major new financial services law was passed last fall, retaining a merger review approach that involves no public hearings and no explicit political input. In fact, a recent wave of megamergers has reshaped the U.S. banking sector. The unpredictable political component in Ottawa's system makes it far less likely that mergers will be tried. That, said C. D. Howe's Robson, says the new law is at odds with the politically neutral measures that govern most of the Canadian economy. "The rule of law, as opposed to the rule of individuals, is one of the things that distinguishes Canada from a lot of less-fortunate countries," he said. "It enables us to make policy according to clearly delineated regulations—even when popular prejudice might lead you somewhere else."

A popular uproar over bank mergers fuelled a political backlash against the deals proposed in early 1998 between the Bank of Montreal and the Royal Bank, and, soon after, the Toronto Dominion Bank and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. Liberal MPs rose up against the deals, and the backbenches celebrated Martin's rejection of them in December, 1998, as a victory for the little guy. But Frank Graves, president of the polling firm Ekos Research Associates Inc., says the mood of Canadians was never that clear-cut. His firm's polling at the time showed opinion was about evenly divided, with many Canadians inclined to support the mergers if they were needed to make homegrown banks more internationally competitive—even at the cost of branch closures and job losses. But, Graves says, the banks failed to effectively wrap their deals in the Maple Leaf. "There's a tendency," he observes, "for people in the banking sector not to understand the importance of emotional, ideological, nationalistic factors."

Could some future merger win popular—and political—approval on the strength of Joe Canada's hankering for a banking heavyweight to cheer against the U.S., Japanese and European behemoths? Despite the tough new process, some seasoned observers think a deal could be navigated through the federal labyrinth. Harold MacKay, a Regina lawyer who chaired the federal task force whose report laid the foundations for Martin's reforms, predicts the new rules will be tested within five years. "I don't believe bankers will throw up their hands and say, 'No one can get through those hoops,'" he told *Maclean's*.

MacKay also defended the role of politicians in merger reviews as essential "given the profile and importance of banks in communities." Perhaps only when that position looks diminished—by the wave of growth Martin hopes to foster from smaller competitors—will Canada's big banks take a chance on testing Ottawa's appetite for mergers again. m

Business Notes

Farewell to Seagram



Edgars Jr (left) and Sr. Canadian icon

A legendary Canadian corporate icon looks set to disappear. Entertainment and distilling giant Seagram Co. Ltd., 24-per-cent owned by Canada's Bronfman family and still nominally headquartered in Montreal, was last week preparing to merge with French conglomerate Vivendi SA. In New York City, where Seagram's real HQ is, family scion and CEO Edgar Bronfman Jr. said a deal was likely to be completed by next week. The all-stock transaction, valuing Seagram at up to $50 billion, would create a new company called Vivendi Universal, which would also include Vivendi entertainment subsidiary Canal Plus SA. Bronfman, 45, would become vice-chairman, playing a major role in entertainment. After taking over from his father, Edgar Sr., the younger Bronfman reinvented Seagram by acquiring U.S. entertainment conglomerate MCA Inc. and music giant Polygram NV. Vivendi has diversified from its base as a water-utility company into communications and the Internet. Analysts said the new entity would almost surely sell Seagram's liquor business.

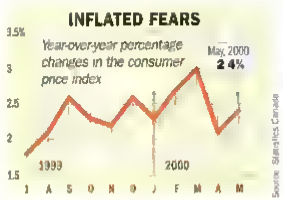
Women still face workplace barriers

Harassment and discrimination remain significant problems for women in management, according to a new study by the Conference Board of Canada. Almost 30 per cent of surveyed female executives told board researchers that at least one of those factors played a part in why they left a job. The study found that about 20 per cent of private-sector senior executives are women, with 40 per cent in the public sector. Respondents said the most effective measures to help retain women staffers were mentoring programs and more female recruitment.

Financial Outlook

The consumer price index rose by 2.4 per cent in May compared with the same period last year, Statistics Canada said that higher prices for gasoline—a 20.8-per-cent jump over May, 1999—rising mortgage interest costs, tuition fees, and fresh fruits and vegetables also contributed to last month's rise. Offsetting those increases were lower prices for computer equipment, cars, and women and children's clothing. When rising gasoline costs are taken out of the index, the increase was only 1.3 per cent.

Analysts said that, while the CPI will likely creep higher over the summer, inflation remains under control. As a result, the Bank of Canada is unlikely to adopt a more aggressive stance on interest rate policies.



Riding to the rescue

Ranger Oil Ltd. staved off a hostile bid from Calgary-based Petrobank Energy and Resources Ltd. by finding a so-called white knight. Canadian Natural Resources Ltd., also of Calgary, has offered $8.25 for every Ranger share, compared with Petrobank's $7.50. If completed as expected in July, the $1-billion deal will create the second-largest oil and gas producer in Canada, after Talisman Energy Inc.

The mob and Wall Street

After a year-long investigation, FBI agents laid charges against 120 people in what authorities say is the largest-ever U.S. crackdown on alleged securities fraud. Code-named Uptick, the operation pulled in stockbrokers, stock promoters, company officials, a lawyer, a retired New York City police detective and members of all five New York organized crime families. Charges in the $75-million scandal include racketeering, bribery and extortion.

Gold mega-merger

Franco-Nevada Mining Corp. Ltd. of Toronto will merge with Gold Fields Ltd. of South Africa in what some analysts believe heralds a consolidation trend in a troubled industry. The new $2.7-billion firm is expected to become a strong competitor to Barrick Gold Corp. of Toronto, currently the world's largest gold company.

No to Technodome

The federally run Port of Montreal rejected a bid by the Reichmann family for a relatively small portion of port land to build the proposed $1-billion Technodome sports and entertainment complex. The move angered Quebec officials, who gained the Technodome project after another federal agency turned down a Reichmann request to buy land in Toronto.

Boost for Windsor

DaimlerChrysler AG said it will sink a stunning $1.5 billion into its Windsor, Ont., plant to modernize the facility and build a full-size Dodge sport utility vehicle. Union officials said they expect the investment to stabilize the workforce but not to create new jobs.

ADVERTISING SUPPLEMENT

Automotive Marketplace ONTARIO

Car Buyers Protected by Compensation Fund



Dominic Mesiano

It is a comforting, yet little known fact, that consumers who buy a new or used car from a registered car dealer in Ontario are protected from unexpected problems with their new purchases by a special compensation fund.

The Motor Vehicle Dealers Compensation Fund (MVDCF) is a consumer protection fund created and supported by the registered car dealers in Ontario. The MVDCF Board of Directors is appointed by the Ontario Motor Vehicle Industry Council (OMVIC), an independent organization which acts as an industry regulator of business practices and standards.

The compensation fund works in much the same way as travel insurance to protect consumers from unforeseen problems arising from, and directly related to, such circumstances as: dealer bankruptcies, the loss of a deposit on an undelivered car, unpaid claims resulting from a court decision, a dealer's conviction of a criminal offense, or certain problems with unfulfilled warranties.

Dominic Mesiano, of Mississauga Volkswagen, feels that the MVDCF is a valuable part of the whole service package provided by the registered car dealers in Ontario.

"Besides buying a house, buying a new car is one of the most important purchases most people make, so it is important that we make them feel that they are protected from any unforeseeable mishaps," says

Mesiano, who is also on the board of the Toronto Automobile Dealers Association. "The compensation fund is a very positive and necessary requirement because it provides the customer with peace of mind when making such an important purchase."

Compensation is granted to successful applicants, to a maximum of $15,000. The fund is maintained by a one-time fee of $300 imposed on new dealers when they register.

The MVDCF Board meets every two months, and is an independent board of volunteer trustees of up to nine people, three of whom must be members of the Used Car Dealers Association or Ontario Automobile Dealers Association, both industry associations. The other board members are chosen from consumers and people with experience in the industry.

Virginia Smith, who is the current chair of the MVDCF Board, says the trustees of the MVDCF consider between 70 to 120 claims per year. Frequently, these claims arise from problems associated with a car's previous owner. In the normal course of events, a registered dealer is required to resolve any issues with the consumer. However, if the dealer is bankrupt or no longer in business, the issue may not be directly resolvable. In this case, the MVDCF is available to stand in the place of the dealer.

Mesiano says, "New car dealers are monitored by the manufacturers for providing customer satisfaction and cannot afford to damage their own or the manufacturer's reputation, who they represent. Through experience, used car dealers have also learned that it is beneficial to both themselves and the customer to perform thorough searches into the backgrounds of the cars they sell, in order to avoid problems down the road."

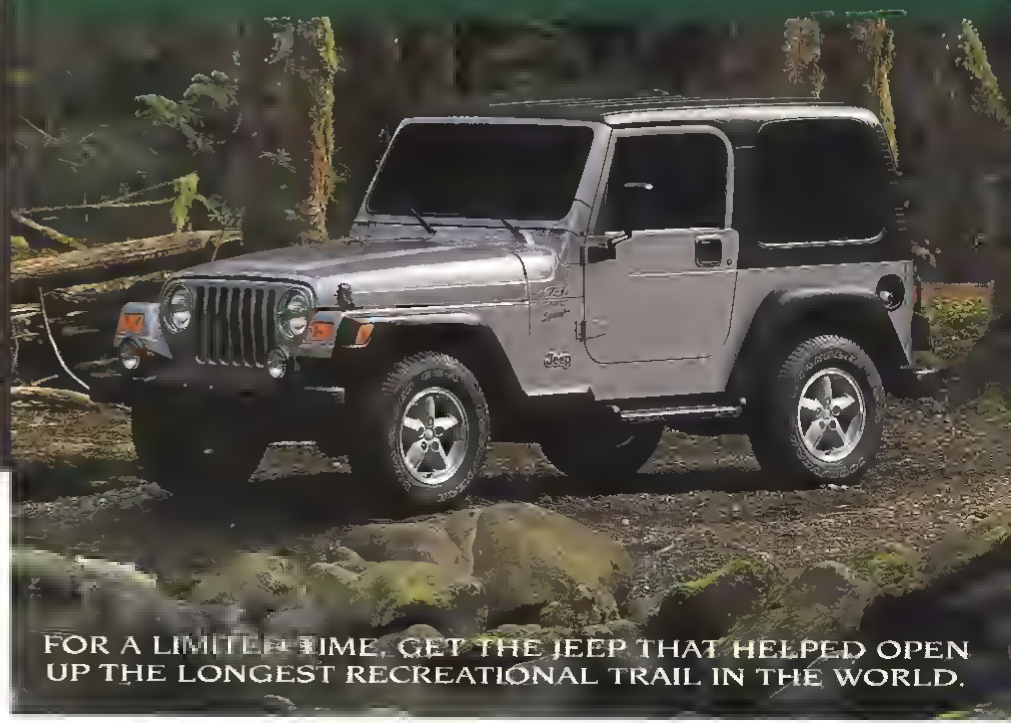
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you are buying a car," says Smith. "In many cases where a transaction becomes problematic, frequently there is something odd about the situation from the outset. If something just doesn't seem right, or you are feeling overly pressured, stop, and take some time to think about it. A phone call to OMVIC will ascertain whether a dealer is registered."

Her advice is that people use common sense when buying a car. Go somewhere where you feel comfortable shopping, and be wary of unusual practices like telemarketing offers, post-dated cheques for your trade-in, or complex payment arrangements which might include large amounts of cash or cheques or money orders made out to individuals, not the business.

Smith points out that the fund is the last resource for the disgruntled customer after all other avenues of action are exhausted. "It is only available if the transaction was through a registered dealer. If you purchase a car privately, you are not eligible for the fund."

"An unhappy customer must first try to settle their dispute with the dealer who sold them the car," says Smith. "If the dealer is not in a position to meet a legitimate obligation such as a court-awarded judgement, most likely due to bankruptcy, then an application can be made to the compensation fund."

Mesiano feels that, on a whole, the registered dealers provide a positive customer experience and the presence of the compensation fund is an added bonus.

"The compensation fund is part of the registered dealers' commitment to customer care and satisfaction. It acts as a safety net for those few instances where there may be problems with a dealer who is simply unable to succeed in the business."

"In today's well informed marketplace, dealers are not going to risk their dealership in order to make the odd minimal gain. We are happy when our customers leave with a good feeling about their purchase. That's common business sense." ■

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The Insurance Institute for Highway Safety has announced that both the 2000 Subaru Legacy and the 2000 Subaru Forester were the top performers in their respective classes during recent 40 mph (64.5 km/h) front offset crash tests. The Legacy was tested against six other mid size four door cars and was the only vehicle to earn an overall "good" evaluation. Similarly, the Forester was compared to seven other popular SUV models and, once again, was the only product to receive an overall "good" rating.



The Institute's crash worthiness ratings - good, acceptable, marginal or poor - are based on a frontal offset crash into a deformable barrier. According to the IINS, this impact is especially demanding on vehicle structure. The driver's side of the vehicle hits the barrier, so a relatively small area of the front end must manage crash energy. This means intrusion into the occupant compartment is more likely to occur than a full-width test.

Three Key Variables Measured

The overall evaluation is based various aspects of performance, including three key variables. 1) Measurements of occupant compartment intrusion. 2) Injury data from a Hybrid III dummy positioned in the driver's seat. 3) Analysis of a slow motion film to access how well the restraint system controlled dummy movement during the impact.

Subaru Engineers Not Surprised

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Frontal Offset Crash Test Results	
Overall	[illegible]
Structure/safety cage	A
Injury measures:	
Head/neck	[illegible]
Chest	[illegible]
Leg/foot, left	A
Leg/foot, right	[illegible]
Restraints/dummy kinematics	

IMPORTANT: Compared with other small utility vehicles – compare ratings only with vehicles of similar weight



More information on these tests is available at **www.subaru.ca** & **www.hwysafety.org** as well as from your Subaru dealer who can be reached by calling **1-800-876-4AWD**

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Moving to Canada — Does Your Car Meet Canadian Standards

Jim Cochrane, President of Town and Country BMW

When people are moving into a new home it can become a complicated process it can become even more complicated when a person moves across an international border such as from the United States to Canada

One of the many things to consider is what to do with your car. In this discussion, Jim Cochrane, President of Town and Country BMW, outlines the steps which must be followed if you are thinking of bringing your car with you when you move to Canada.

"Bringing your car into Canada can get quite involved and could become rather expensive," explains Cochrane who sits on the Toronto Automobile Dealers Association's Board of Directors "However, if you take the time to investigate your situation properly, you may find that it will be a relatively simple process."

"Most people run into problems because they don't take enough time to do things properly This leaves them in a position where they must make decisions in a hurry as their moving deadline approaches It is never a good idea to make hasty decisions, especially with such expensive items as your car."

The two agencies which become involved when a car is imported into Canada are Revenue Canada and Transport Canada (via the Registrar of Imported Vehicles or RIV) Each agency has certain regulations which must be met before your vehicle will be approved for use in Canada It is important to realize that each situation is unique, and not every vehicle will be allowed into Canada

The first thing you need to do is call RIV at 1-800-511-7755. They will provide you with written material and information regarding the importation procedure Most importantly, you will be able to find out if your vehicle will be allowed into Canada at all

Volvo S40 and V40: personal transportation with personality

As an antidote to boring "point-A to point-B' driving, Volvo S40 sedan and V40 wagon introduce a whole new alphabet of motoring pleasure



Volvo S40 and V40

Sumptuous heated seats, electronic climate control, cup holders that actually work – all are integrated into interiors that reflect Volvo's Scandinavian design heritage It's a harmonious blend of sculpted shapes, subtle tones and appealing surfaces that reward the senses

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The new 2001 Volvo S40 and V40 also deliver exhilarating power and poise. Quick and agile, they effortlessly outwit downtown traffic yet their lean exterior dimensions allow them to slip into undersized parking spaces

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For people with diverse interests and active lifestyles, the Volvo V40 wagon expands the definition of personal transportation with its practical design. Mountain bikes? Skis? Dog? Load them in

2001 Volvo S40 and V40 exciting alternatives for people with a passion for driving

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Something else to be aware of is that vehicles such as trailers, snowmobiles, ATVs, and motor homes are also regulated in the same way as cars, trucks and motorcycles. For example, if you are bringing a boat with you, you need to make sure that your trailer will be allowed into Canada as well.

MEETING CANADIAN REQUIREMENTS

"Unless your vehicle was manufactured for the Canadian market, it will probably need some modifications to comply with Canadian Transportation requirements. At the very least it will most likely need things like a metric speedometer, daytime running lights, and an infant restraint kit," says Cochrane.

"You must contact your vehicle manufacturer to obtain a list of modifications required for Canadian compliance and a document called a Recall Clearance Statement. The Recall Clearance Statement proves that there are no outstanding recalls on your vehicle, and must be presented when you have your final inspection at an RIV Inspection Station once you are in Canada."

"Once you know what modifications need to be made to your vehicle, take it to your local dealership to find out what it will cost to have those changes made," Cochrane advises. "In some cases modification costs can be quite staggering and will affect your decision to bring your vehicle with you when you move."

"One more important consideration is insurance. Before you try to cross the border you must arrange to have your car insured during the interim period when you are in Canada but before your car is approved for Canadian operation."

If you decide to bring your vehicle with you, call the border point at which you intend to cross, as U.S. regulations may require 72 hours notice before a vehicle can be exported. You also need to make sure you have all the necessary paperwork available when you reach the border. Don't pack it away! You will need proof of ownership (your title or a sales receipt) and registration.

At the border, you will have to pay any applicable duties — there is none on American cars — and taxes which apply to your vehicle. Immigrants coming to Canada permanently, or for a period of temporary work exceeding three years, can import their personal vehicles free of tax or duty. Similarly, Canadians returning after an absence of at least a year can import their personal vehicles duty-free. If those vehicles were originally from Canada, they are not subject even to the RIV program. But for vehicles manu-

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factured elsewhere, your total cost at the border will include the $210 - $262 (all figures Canadian) Port fee, which pays for RIV's certification process. The cost may also include $100 excise taxes for things like air conditioners or excess weight and also for vehicles that are not personal effects or have not been used as such for six months or more, GST on their assessed value, calculated using the *Red Book* value on used cars and the ticket price for new cars. In the latter case, Revenue Canada provides a total tax estimate of $2,615.28 (not including Port fees) using a 1998 American-made Buick Park Avenue as an example. It would be to your benefit to get an estimate on the value of your car from a Canadian dealer to ensure the *Red Book* value is a fair estimate.

Once you are in Canada, you will have 45 days from your date of crossing during which you must have the necessary modifications made to your vehicle and have your RIV inspection completed at an RIV Inspection Station. This includes completing all the necessary paperwork which will be sent to you after you cross the border.

If your vehicle passes the RIV inspection, you will be issued a Statement of Compliance label which you then affix to your vehicle. You must also be aware that a Provincial or Territorial inspection may also be required, and can be arranged to be completed at the RIV Inspection Station.

BUYING NEW IN CANADA

"In some situations it may be more financially sound to sell your existing car and get a new one in Canada," notes Cochrane. "This will require a little research, but in most cases, the value of the Canadian dollar compared to foreign currencies will make buying a new car in Canada less expensive than importing a new car from somewhere else. It is also important to realize that new cars imported into Canada are still subject to GST and excise fees."

"No matter what you decide to do, your local dealership will be able to give you sound advice when it comes to making your decision," says Cochrane. "If you do bring your vehicle to Canada, your Canadian dealership can serve as your liaison with the manufacturer and your home base for modification work. Your dealership has the knowledge and experience to make the whole process go smoothly."

More detailed information can be obtained by calling the Registrar of Imported Vehicles Hotline at 1-800-511-7755, or by visiting them on the Internet at **www.riv.com**. Additional information is also available from Revenue Canada at **www.rc.gc.ca** and Transport Canada at **www.tc.gc.ca**.



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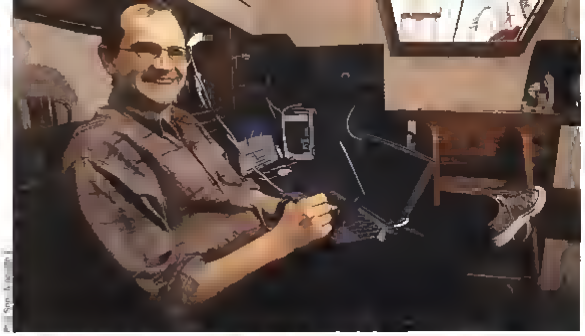


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Tech Explorer



Gilchrist aboard his wired sailboat, testing the waters of a mobile lifestyle

Floating in a digital world

Brady Gilchrist used to live in a house in downtown Toronto before deciding to practise what he preaches. In April, Gilchrist, a freelance Internet consultant, gave up the comforts of his home for the cramped confines of his eight-metre sailboat, Myne Toye, to carry out what he calls "an experiment in digital living." Gilchrist, a former bush pilot and public relations executive, says he wanted to better understand how technology, both wired and wireless, is changing media, entertainment and lifestyles. "I'm not trying to sequester myself in a digital dungeon," says Gilchrist, who has sworn off buying conventional books, magazines and music until he gives up living on the boat at the end of September. "But anything that's digital," he says, "I'll take."

To stay connected, Gilchrist has surrounded himself with loads of hardware and software: cell phone, laptop, PC (which he calls his "data furnace") and hand-held computer, as well as digital cameras, audio recording software and video editing equipment to help build Web sites. He maintains a journal at *www.adigitallife.net*. When he's not working with clients, Gilchrist, 33, surfs the Net for software for home and business. It's all part of discovering the ultimate mobile lifestyle, he says, and following it wherever it takes him. "It would be nice," says Gilchrist, "to be able to do this from a beach somewhere."

A CD camera

Just when you thought the home technology format wars were nearing an end, Sony—pioneer of videotape, CDs, mini-discs and the Memory Stick—has come up with another. Its new Mavica MVC-CD1000 digital camera uses a three-inch mini-CD to store images. The advantage over other cameras, which typically hold about 30 images in memory, is that the writable CD can handle 160. The disc can be placed in a standard CD-ROM drive to display the images on a PC. Offering a high 2.1 megapixels of resolution, the camera costs $2,500.

Cool Sites

Hit the trail

Looking for a nice place to go for a hike, or money to build your own trail? Try *www.trailpaq.com*, which lays claim to being "the most comprehensive, informative and entertaining" Web destination for Canadian trail information. The name is a giveaway for the computer-maker sponsor, but Compaq's presence is relatively unobtrusive. The site lists more than 1,000 trails, while online grant applications, available after Canada Day, will offer financial aid to groups eager to develop abandoned railway lines and other such projects.

Danylo Hawaleshka





Canada's 13,000 surviving Korean War veterans say they have been sorely neglected

Lance-Cpl. W. J. Chrysler of Hamilton (right) helping Pte. Morris Piche of Ottawa: immense hardship

Our Forgotten War



Pic. by J. Bannister for Maclean's

Allan at the Wall of Remembrance for which he and other vets raised $300,000 after Ottawa refused to provide funding: 'The wall reminds everyone of their sacrifice'

By D'Arcy Jenish

He was a great kid, Mary Robertson is saying about the younger brother she lost nearly half a century ago, and he looked so handsome in uniform. He was tall—six feet, two inches—broad-shouldered and lean. She and her eight siblings called him Tunny when they were growing up in Antigonish, N.S. But his name was Bernard, she says, and could he sing. They had sung together when he visited her in the spring of 1951 in Toronto, where she had moved in 1942 and eventually married. That was just before he left for the war in Korea, and she hoped he would take voice lessons when he returned. But he never made it home. In mid-January, 1953, the Canadian government sent a telegram to Robertson's parents informing them that their son Pte. Bernard A. MacDonald, aged 20, of the Royal Canadian Regiment, had been killed in action. Robertson, now 78, always wondered how he died, and began making inquiries while attending an Ottawa memorial service in 1983. Initially, she got nowhere. "It's tough when you've lost someone," she said, "and nobody knows anything."

Her search ended in 1992 when she spoke to Korean War veteran Bill Allan, now 68 and living in Oakville, Ont. Allan, who had befriended MacDonald in Korea, was on patrol with him the night shrapnel from a booby trap blew part of his head off; Allan helped carry his body back to the Canadian line. Meeting MacDonald's sister gave him an idea: the 516 Canadians who died in the war deserved their own monument. Federal officials say all veterans, including those who fought in Korea, are recognized on the National War Memorial in Ottawa. Allan formed a committee of fellow vets, and together they raised $300,000. In July, 1997, they erected a grey granite Wall of Remembrance in Brampton, Ont., complete with a brass nameplate for each dead soldier. "The wall reminds everyone of their sacrifice," says Allan.

The Korean War began on June 25, 1950, and ended on July 27, 1953. It left the country divided between the Communist North and the democratic South, and relations between them remained frozen until a historic summit between the leaders of the two countries in the North Korean capital of Pyongyang last week, which led to a statement on economic co-operation and political reunification (page 35). More than 26,000 Canadians served alongside troops from 15 other countries in the United Nations-sponsored war against the Communist armies of North Korea and China. But many of the 13,000 surviving veterans say they have always been sorely neglected. They most recently felt the sting of government indifference, they say, when Prime Minister Jean Chrétien turned down invitations to participate in this month's events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the start of the conflict. Veteran Affairs Minister George Baker agreed to attend only one event. "We're forgotten," says veteran Ralph Boddington, 69, of Bobcaygeon, Ont. "It's a sad situation, but that's what we have to accept."

Many Canadian veterans also fume when they compare their treatment with that of Americans who fought in Korea. U.S. President Bill Clinton heads the list of political and military dignitaries who will attend a 50th anniversary ceremony in Washington on June 25. As well, the monument to the 56,000 Americans who died in the war, a two-metre-high wall with 19 larger-than-life stainless steel soldiers across the top, is next to the Lincoln Memorial in the heart of the U.S. capital. In contrast, Canadian veterans note, their Wall of Remembrance stands on land that cemetery owners in the outskirts of Toronto donated after the federal government would not provide a site or funding.

Then there's the stamp issue. The U.S. Postal Service has



Canada Post has repeatedly rejected veterans' bid for a commemorative stamp

Canada and the World

twice honoured America's Korean veterans with stamps, in 1985 and again last year. The Korea Veterans Association of Canada appealed unsuccessfully to Canada Post for a commemorative stamp in 1985, on the 35th anniversary of the outbreak of the war, and in 1990. The association asked again earlier this year, but Canada Post executives told them that they only recognize the official *end* of wars—meaning Korea will not qualify until 2003, a half-century after a truce was reached. "Our people are getting older by the day," says association president Gordon Strathy, 65, a retired Ottawa teacher. "If they're going to issue a stamp, they should do it before we're all dead."

Baker insists that he has no intention of neglecting the aging veterans. Just last week, he says, he addressed a major grievance after receiving a passionate letter from a former soldier. Baker responded by introducing a bill to change the wording in the relevant federal legislation from "Korean conflict" to "Korean War," Baker added. "It has been an irritant, because they fought in a war."

Veterans say such recognition is long overdue. They participated, they note, in the first United Nations-sponsored military initiative that helped establish the credibility of the organization and served as a model for future multinational forces—particularly peacekeeping missions. As well, the war claimed the lives of close to three million people—including 900,000 Chinese, 520,000 North Koreans and 1.3 million South Koreans—and caused immense hardship for ordinary people. "The country was shattered," recalls author Pierre Berton, who covered the war for *Maclean's*. "People were starving. They were in bad shape."



Night training of mortar platoons; Soper (above left); Bordeleau (right); surprise assaults after dark by battle-hardened Chinese troops

The Korean conflict was largely a product of Cold War tensions. It began when the Communist North invaded the newly democratic South in late June, 1950. That violated the UN-sanctioned division of the Korean peninsula at the 38th parallel where Soviet and U.S. forces had met in August, 1945, after defeating the Japanese. By Aug. 1, 1950, North Korea's 150,000-strong army controlled the entire country, except for the southeast corner where South Korean troops and their American advisers held out around the port city of Pusan.

The tide turned in late September when the UN force, led by American troops under the command of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, launched a blistering counteroffensive. By the end of November, they had driven the North Koreans back 560 km, all the way to the border between China and Korea. MacArthur then talked of bombing military installations across the frontier, which drew the Chinese into the war. They drove the UN troops back to the 38th parallel, where they resolved, in March, 1951, to make a stand, and dug in.

Both sides abandoned any attempt to take territory when North and South agreed in July, 1951, to start peace talks. But there was no ceasefire. Instead, as the negotiations dragged on for two years, the war became a stalemate. The two sides took positions in steep hills, digging fighting trenches across the tops and bunkers on the backsides. They planted thousands of land mines and strung kilometres of barbed wire, and blasted away at each other with artillery and mortars. Almost daily, small fighting units—anywhere from 10 to 100 soldiers—crossed the no man's land to attack the other side. "It was a war of bunkers and trenches, like 1914 to 1918," says Ted Barris, author of *Deadlock in Korea: Canadians at War, 1950-1953*. "It was a battle for hills."

Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent announced Canada's participation in what was being called a UN "police action" on the evening of Aug. 7, 1950. Speaking on CBC Radio, he called for physically fit men aged 19 to 35 to serve 18-month stints in the 5,000-strong Canadian Army Special Force. Across the country, volunteers quickly signed up. Some were unemployed. Some had been too young to fight in the Second World War. Many had no idea what the war was about. "To be honest, I didn't know where Korea was," recalls Bramalea, Ont., resident Don Williams, now 70, who reached the front in June, 1951. Calgarian Roly Soper, now 72, was seeking adventure, but mainly remembers misery. "In August, monsoon-like rains fell for days," he says. "Our bunker caved in, and on one occasion, I didn't sleep for at least 72 hours. I collapsed from exhaustion."



Verge: Canadian fire cut down unarmed attackers whose job was to spook the troops by banging on pans or shaking rattles

Canada's troops, assigned a swath of the front about 75 km long, were positioned in hills named according to their heights above sea level. For the most part, they spent their days watching for signs of enemy activity. The fighting occurred mainly at night, and usually involved surprise assaults by battle-hardened Chinese troops. "I got to the front on March 25, 1952," recalls Ottawa resident Dan Bordeleau, 74, "and we were attacked that night."



Bordeleau, who served with the then-Calgary-based Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, was in his bunker at Hill 132 when a member of his company told him there was enemy activity on the forward slope. He immediately headed for his parapet, or combat position, but the battle erupted before he got there.

Flares filled the sky, illuminating the hill. He heard the crackle of machine-gun fire and saw a line of Chinese infantrymen racing towards them. The fight raged for five hours, and more than once, Bordeleau fired on enemy soldiers at close quarters. Barrages of Canadian artillery shells from about a dozen big guns sailed over them, exploding 90 to 135 m in front of the trenches, while the Chinese fired mortars from across the valley. "They put a round into the next parapet, about 45 m away," says Bordeleau. "I knew it was bad news." The two men holding that position, one of them a friend, were among five Canadians killed that night.

Most of the fighting along the 38th parallel followed a similar pattern. Ralph Verge, 66, of Halifax was involved in one such battle in early May, 1953, that resulted in heavy casualties among the 110 men of his company, a unit of the Royal Canadian Regiment. The trouble began just after dark when a section, about 12 soldiers, left their trenches on a routine reconnaissance. They were walking through a gap in a minefield when Chinese attackers, who had crossed no man's land undetected, ambushed them. "As soon as I heard the racket, I knew something was radically wrong," recalled Verge.

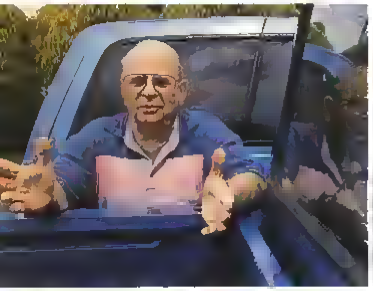
The Chinese rushed the Canadians from five directions, coming in three waves—the first unarmed. Their role was to spook the enemy by banging on pans or shaking rattles, Verge said, and most were quickly cut down by Canadian fire. The soldiers in the next two waves were armed with Russian-made weapons, which despite their nickname of burp guns, possessed "tremendous firepower," he said. The battle, which lasted about 2½ hours, took place under a ceaseless barrage of flares and artillery fire. When it was over, 26 Canadians were dead and 27 wounded, while four Koreans fighting alongside them had been killed and 14 injured. Chinese casualties were at least twice as high. "It was a scary night, and gave me nightmares for about three years," Verge said. "I'd wake up in a cold sweat, and remember the good friend I'd held in my arms while he was dying."

The front line was the most dangerous, but casualties occurred elsewhere, largely because the Chinese frequently slipped through UN lines to plant booby traps. Gerry Emon, 69, of Victoria, who arrived in Korea in February, 1952,

www.macleans.ca for links

served as a military police officer at the infantry headquarters about 16 km behind the front. In early December, he and a friend set out in a truck for Seoul where Emon hoped to have a cigarette case engraved for his girlfriend, Margery Harden of Wainwright, Alta., who later became his wife. While crossing a bridge, the truck hit a bump, detonating a booby trap planted in the glove compartment.

The blast killed his friend, who was driving, and blew Emon out the side door. He landed in a creek nine metres below, his legs shattered, his face bleeding and his body peppered with shrapnel. He lay there nearly 10 minutes before an ambulance rescued him. Emon says he survived because the creek's numbingly cold water slowed down the bleeding. But his injuries were so serious military doctors sent him back to Canada as soon as he could travel, and he spent more than two years in a Toronto hospital. "I lost track of the operations, but I had better than 30," says the retired real estate agent. "I never regained full use of my legs because of nerve damage."



Linley 'There were minefields on top of minefields. I would describe it as scorched earth.'

Bob Linley, now 75 and living in Chilliwack, B.C., 120 km east of Vancouver, arrived in Korea in August, 1953, after the war had ended. He was a member of the Royal Canadian Engineers and responsible for ordnance disposal—"taking care of anything that would explode, home-made or manufactured." Linley landed at Pusan, where he was greeted by starving children begging for food, and over the next 16 months travelled as far north as the demilitarized zone straddling the 38th parallel.

The whole country, Linley says, was devastated. Roads were destroyed, bridges blown up and houses reduced to rubble. The commercial centre of Seoul, a city with a prewar population of about 1.5 million, had been flattened. Only a few buildings of any stature, all of them temples or other religious structures, were left standing. And the opposing armies that had marched up and down the peninsula had planted mines everywhere. "There were minefields on top of minefields," he says. "I would describe it as scorched earth. There was nothing left."

Like many of the men who served in Korea, Linley returned in early 1992 and visited former battlegrounds, war memorials and military cemeteries. He was dazzled by the transformation of a country that has become one of the economic and financial powers of Southeast Asia. Seoul was unrecognizable, Linley says, but one change in particular struck him. "There was one bridge across the River Han when I was there the first time," he says. "Now, there's 21." Oakville's Allan, who was on the same trip, was astonished at how beautiful the battlefields had become. "The Korean government had to change the height of some of the hills on maps because the artillery barrages had knocked three or four metres off the tops," he says. "Now, everything is green and the valleys are lush. It's amazing to see."

But it was the Korean people who most deeply touched Allan. As he and the other veterans toured the country, their Korean hosts attached a sign to their bus that said the passengers were Canadian veterans. Almost everywhere, people stopped and cheered. When they visited the UN cemetery in Pusan, schoolchildren politely lined up to shake their hands. "At least somebody appreciates us," he says, "because our government sure doesn't." m

A shattered Seoul



By the time Pierre Berton, then a 30-year-old reporter, visited Seoul in the spring of 1951, the once-thriving metropolis was, as he put it, "a carcass of a city." Berton was seeing Seoul just 10 days after it had been liberated for the fourth time in nine months: twice by the People's Republic of North Korea and its allies, the People's Republic of China, and twice by the democratic Republic of South Korea and its allies, the United Nations. An excerpt from his June 1, 1951, account in Maclean's.

The silence of the grave hung over Seoul as I drove down the wide, empty boulevards of its western-style business section and through the twisting alleyways of its native quarters. There wasn't a shop, hotel, restaurant or place of business open. The shattered windows of those buildings which still stood stared out on avenues which once teemed with humanity and now lay deserted except for the odd soldier or ragged refugee.

Dickie, my 17-year-old Korean interpreter, and I drove through a narrow cobbled street to see if Dickie's home was still there. It was, but it was no better than a shell. Like most of Seoul's buildings it is Japanese in style, and as we stooped through the low doorways with their fragile sliding panels a scene of total devastation met our eyes. Except for a few sticks of furniture and some books scattered among the torn paper on the nice matting of the floor, nothing had been left for Dickie to come home to.

Like most Koreans, Dickie is not given to outward emotion. He simply sucked in his breath and said: "The Chinamans came to here, sir. All took." The signs of a furious search were all about us. Cupboards and drawers had been ransacked, and hung open—empty. Holes had been methodically punched in walls and ceiling to make sure nothing was hidden between partitions. On the floor a delicate little lacquer box, inlaid with mother of pearl, lay smashed. Dickie selected a couple of his books from the debris. "The Chinamans don't take books, sir," he said. "I think they are all ignorance. They do not know anything."

Dickie's home had fared no better and no worse than the other houses which had survived bombing, barrage and flame.

Two Kims bridge Korea's two solitudes

A historic North-South summit could bring together long-divided families



Kim Dae Jung (left) dines with Kim Jong Il in Pyongyang hopes that southern aid will end the North's nuclear program

Kim Hyun Ho and his family have been waiting for his uncle to call home for 50 years. They are not alone—nearly 10 million other South Koreans have relatives in North Korea whom they have not heard from since the Communist North sealed its borders at the end of the Korean War in 1953. Now, with its economy in ruins, North Korean President Kim Jong Il is attempting to end his country's isolation—as his historic summit last week with South Korean President Kim Dae Jung dramatically showed. In the North's capital, Pyongyang, the two leaders signed an accord that could finally end the official state of war on the Korean Peninsula, allowing long-lost relatives to embrace at last. Almost everyone has a story. "My mother is anxious to find out about her brother," says Kim Hyun Ho, director of the Research Institute for Korean Reunification in Seoul. 'Koreans are in so much sorrow."

The summit seemed to go well from the start, when the reclusive Kim Jong Il, with his dark hair permed and wearing his signature high-heeled shoes, unexpectedly showed up at the airport to greet his counterpart. The two men, at times holding hands, then drove into Pyongyang as almost one million people lined the roads waving paper flowers. In addition to working towards family reunification, the two leaders agreed to improve economic co-operation and ease military tensions along their heavily armed border. Kim Jong Il also agreed to visit the South as they pursue their most ambitious goal: to unify the two Koreas. "The Korean people," said Kim Dae Jung, as he raised a glass of champagne following the signing, "can see a bright future as a dawn of hope for reconciliation, co-operation and unification is breaking."

The fact the pair were even talking was remarkable. Kim Jong Il has long been an international outcast with a bizarre reputation. A capacious drinker (as he showed during the summit by quaffing 10 glasses of wine), he has been accused of kidnapping young women for sex. His fascination with the cinema, including Hollywood, led his henchmen to kidnap South Korean actress Choi Eun Hui in 1978, she finally escaped in 1986. In the 1990s, while people starved, his government worked to develop nuclear weapons. In 1998, North Korea test-fired a long-range missile over Japan.

With the economy crumbling, however, Kim Jong Il was forced to open the door to the West. The first crack appeared last April when Australian officials received an unexpected letter from North Korea asking for full diplomatic relations, which Canberra granted in May. Since then, he has visited Beijing and opened talks with several countries, including the United States. North Korea's need to open up was evident to Canadian government officials and academics who visited Pyongyang last December. "Walking seems to be the most common method of getting anywhere," says Donald Rickerd, a University of Toronto political science professor. "When you look out over the city at night, it's basically dark."

As part of last week's deal, South Korea will offer economic aid to the North. But dragging North Korea's 21 million people into the 21st century will ultimately require the North to merge with the South—a process that could take decades and cost $800 billion. Per capita income in the South is $13,200 annually—about 12 times the North's estimated $1,090. Despite the high price, polls show most of South Korea's 46 million people want to unite. "It's not a matter of cost," says Kim Hyun Ho, "but of national pride."

Even so, there would be a big payoff if tensions are reduced in the 250-km-wide demilitarized zone separating the two countries. North Korea maintains nearly one million troops in the border area, South Korea 700,000 and the United States 37,000. Washington and Tokyo also have a huge strategic interest in bringing stability to the volatile region, and hope the promise of economic aid will convince North Korea to cancel its nuclear weapons programs. China, too, would rather see its longtime ally reined in. Millions of Koreans throughout the peninsula, meanwhile, want to see their divided families come together once again.

Tom Fennell *with Susan Oh in Toronto*

A tough act to follow

Syrians bury Hafez al-Assad and wonder what the future holds as his son assumes power

By Andrew Phillips

It was said last week of Bashar al-Assad that he is the very model of a modern Arab leader. He is young (just 34) and speaks English and French, in addition to Arabic. He likes to surf the Web and is president of the Syrian Internet Society. He is an amateur photographer who enjoys scanning his pictures into a computer. He studied ophthalmology and was educated partly in England. And according to one report, he has a passion for the music of Phil Collins.

That being said, almost nothing is known about what direction the man known to Syrians as "Doctor Bashar" will take his country once he officially assumes its leadership following the death of his father, the longtime dictator Hafez al-Assad. The formal succession was well under way last week even as Syria buried the father, who died on June 10 at age 69. Military and government leaders rallied around his son, who was quickly given senior posts in the army and the ruling Baath party as preparation for having him acclaimed president in a referendum. Ordinary Syrians took up the cry in the streets, chanting "God, Syria and Bashar."

Bashar al-Assad's elevation seemed assured, though it is far less certain that he can wield power effectively—and even less sure how he can continue efforts to negotiate a peace deal with Israel. His father managed to rule for 30 years by striking a balance between Syria's rival religious groups and competing interests—as well as ruthlessly crushing all challengers. Bashar, in contrast, is a largely untested leader who was not raised for the top job. Hafez al-Assad intended that to go to his oldest son, Basil. But when Basil was killed in a car crash in 1994, Bashar was called back from London to be groomed as his father's successor. He was given responsibility for policy in Lebanon, and put in charge of a campaign against corruption.



Bashar al-Assad: a fondness for Phil Collins

Assad's first task will be to consolidate his power and ensure that Syria's simmering religious tensions do not break into the open. The Assads belong to the Alawite sect, a secretive group that broke away from orthodox Islam in the 10th century and is considered heretical by many Muslims. Its adherents account for just 12 per cent of Syria's 17 million people, but flourished under Hafez al-Assad's long rule and now control the top positions in the military and state enterprises. Sunni Muslims, who form Syria's majority, may seize the opportunity of his father's death to challenge Bashar's authority. For the time being, Alawite leaders will likely safeguard their power by rallying around Assad. Otherwise, says Patrick Clawson of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "things could spin out of control."

Assad's insecure position also makes it very unlikely that he will take a softer line than his father on the crucial issue of peace with Israel. Western leaders who met him last week quoted him as saying: "I'm going to carry on peace just like my father did." Even that was an enigmatic statement while Hafez al-Assad went along with the Clinton administration's desire for a "peace process" between Syria and Israel, he stopped well short of actual peace. In late March, President Bill Clinton met with Assad in Geneva but failed to get him to compromise. The Syrian leader insisted that Israel withdraw from every inch of the Golan Heights and other land it seized from Syria in their 1967 war. Israel wants to keep a narrow strip on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee.

Bashar, say the experts, is almost certain to stick to his father's position. But he may well revive the peace process, which offers the advantage of attracting favourable U.S. attention without necessarily reaching a settlement that could expose him to domestic criticism. After his father turned down Clinton in March, Assad offered a more upbeat message. He told an Arabic weekly that, for a settlement, "the time is not too late." Assad has also taken a softer rhetorical line, using the word "Israel" instead of referring to "the Zionist entity," as his father did. For at least the next few months, however, a deal between Israel and Syria will be shoved to the back burner. Assad will have to start grappling with Syria's many other problems—especially the rickety, state-dominated economy that the late dictator failed to reform. In that area, at least, the son may be more ready to break with his father's legacy.

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World Notes

Pot and soccer

British soccer hooligans have a well-earned reputation for violence. But last week, at this year's Euro 2000 soccer tournament, Dutch police said they did not make a single arrest. Their explanation: British supporters were smoking marijuana, which is legal in Holland, and it seemed to calm them down. In Belgium, however, police arrested several hundred British supporters after a rampage in Brussels and battles with German fans in Charleroi.

Lethal caste warfare

A private army of the upper castes claimed responsibility after gunmen dragged low-caste residents of the village of Miapur in eastern India from their beds and killed 34 of them. The attack appeared to be retaliation for the killing of 11 upper-caste villagers a week earlier. Miapur is in Bihar, one of India's poorest states where groups representing the upper and lower castes are waging a war of attrition.

Shark alert

Two days after a bull shark attacked and badly injured two swimmers off the Alabama coast, another shark attack was reported in Florida's Pensacola Bay. Boarers on a six-metre pleasure craft saw a large shadow in the water minutes before the shark ripped off the boat's swim platform.

Central Park sex attack

Ten men are expected to be charged following attacks on at least 44 women in New York City's Central Park after the Puerto Rican Day parade. The victims were assaulted by roving packs of men who sprayed them with water and ripped off their clothes. Police have been heavily criticized for not responding quickly enough to the emergency.

Ethiopia to sign peace pact

Following the advance of Ethiopian troops deep into Eritrea, the two countries are expected to sign a peace deal on June 18—ending the two-year border war that has displaced more than 500,000 people. The peace plan calls for Ethiopian troops to withdraw and a United Nations peacekeeping force to patrol a border zone inside Eritrea.

Putin says *nyet* to free speech

Russian President Vladimir Putin is facing mounting international criticism over what many analysts say is a clear attempt to crush free speech in his country. The latest accusations flew after prosecutors in Moscow arrested Vladimir Gusinsky, Russia's most powerful media mogul. Gusinsky, who owns the country's only independent media network, was charged with fraud and released on bail after spending almost three days in prison. His arrest came barely two weeks after Putin unveiled his plan to concentrate more power in the Kremlin by building what he called a "dictatorship of the law." Gusinsky had been openly critical of Putin and his handling of the savage war in Chechnya.

While in Germany on a diplomatic tour, Putin acknowledged that the arrest may have been an overreaction, but denied it was politically motivated. But in Washington, U.S. deputy secretary of state Strobe Talbot said the arrest fits an emerging pattern in Russia that "resonates muscle, power and intimidation."



Coming of age

To mark his 18th birthday this week, Prince William poses for an official photograph wearing a Union Jack waistcoat. He said he enjoyed attending Eton without constant media attention, adding "I hope I can enjoy the same freedom at university."

Would-be papal assassin pardoned

At the urging of Pope John Paul II, Italy pardoned the Turkish gunman who tried to kill the pontiff in 1981 in St. Peter's Square. Mehmet Ali Agca, 43, was returned to Istanbul, where he was jailed for eight years (a Turkish court had sentenced Agca to death for the murder of a newspaper editor, but he escaped in 1979). Some investigators believe, but it was never confirmed, that Agca tried to murder the pontiff on behalf of the KGB, which feared eastern European repercussions from the Pope's defiant anti-communist stance.

An attack in Montenegro

Serbian opposition leader Vuk Draskovic was shot twice by gunmen outside his home in Montenegro. Incredibly, Draskovic, who heads the leading opposition party, the Serbian Renewal Movement, suffered only two slight head wounds in the attack and was quickly released from hospital. Last fall, Draskovic accused Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic of rigging a car accident that Draskovic survived, but in which his brother-in-law died. Draskovic has been agitating for early elections, last month, the government closed his Studio B television station in Belgrade. Fearing for his safety, Draskovic then fled to neighbouring Montenegro, Serbia's sister republic in the Yugoslavian Federation.

System under stress

Ontario's school reforms are winning few friends in the classroom—or beyond

For Jennifer Henry, it was one of the toughest lessons of teachers college. During her seven weeks of practice teaching this year, she learned more than she wanted to know about the cold realities of a typical Ontario classroom. Frequently, she dug into her own pocket to pay for such basics as pencils, paint and construction paper. Her full-time colleagues seemed beaten down by a barrage of changes pushed through by Ontario Premier Mike Harris and his Conservative government. Henry emerged with her ideals intact, but with distinct reservations about teaching in Ontario. Now, the 24-year-old York University graduate is considering a career in Britain.

Says Henry: "In our program, Harris's name was like a swearword."

Ontario gave Henry and her peers one more reason to curse last week as it prepared to pass its latest set of reforms, increasing the workload for high-school teachers by the equivalent of a half-course a year. For many, the move could mean hours of extra time spent on lesson preparation and marking. The new law, Bill 74, will also give the education minister sweeping powers to investigate and take control of school boards, should they be suspected of failing to meet provincial standards in such areas as curriculum or class size. And while the government retreated from a proposal to make it mandatory for teachers to supervise extracurricular activities, Education Minister Janet Ecker threatened to invoke that portion of the law if instructors boycott those duties in a work-to-rule campaign.

Critics are warning that deteriorating working conditions in Ontario schools will drive teachers from the profession, exacerbating a looming teacher shortage. The Ontario College of Teachers estimates that, over the next eight years, 60,000 of the province's 144,000 teachers will reach retirement age. Depending on enrolment trends, Ontario will need as many as 79,000 new teachers by 2005. Last week, several teachers' unions—including the 240,000-member Canadian Teachers' Federation and the British Columbia Teachers' Federation—placed newspaper ads across Canada discouraging teachers from seeking jobs in the province. "It's hard for us," said Doug Willard, president of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation, "to see this as anything but a direct attack on teachers." But the Harris government, which launched its own $200,000 ad campaign to promote the bill, dismissed dire predictions of a shortage. "The unions claim they put the interests of children first," said Ecker, "and then they use their members' money to scare away qualified people who want to teach."



Henry: new grad will go job hunting in Britain

The ongoing conflict has done little to slow applications to teachers college. More than 15,500 students are competing for the 6,300 openings in Ontario this fall. Last week, Ecker announced funding for an additional 1,000 spaces, to be phased in over the next two years. Meanwhile, hundreds of Ontario students are flocking to such schools as D'Youville College and Canisius College in Buffalo, N.Y., which charge about $20,000 for their 12- to 18-month teacher's programs.

The real test of the legislation will be its impact on veteran teachers. Some predict that the number choosing early retirement will skyrocket. And with dire shortages in the United States and Britain, there is no guarantee that new grads will fill the gap.

The legislation could take a heavy toll on trustees, as well. Bill 74 will give the minister of education the authority to investigate and take control of school boards that fail to meet provincial standards. If trustees vote for spending decisions that the minister finds objectionable, they could be held liable for any money deemed to be spent in a noncompliant way. Trustees who disregard the minister's orders also face a five-year ban on running for any municipal office. Already beset by funding cuts, school closures, angry parents and a host of other challenges, many trustees may decide that their task—rewarded with a $5,000 annual honorarium—is too onerous. "It's going to be a struggle to decide whether to run again," says Wendy Anderson, chairwoman of the Avon Maitland District School Board in Seaforth, Ont. "It's been quite a roller-coaster we've been on." And it's a ride that an increasing number of trustees—and teachers—may decide to pass up.

John Schofield



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Signs of the Times

When world track records tumble, critics wonder if drugs are responsible







Walker; El Guerrouj in Rome (right), Sullivan (left)· since 1954, the mile record has been improved 17 times

After crossing the finish line at last July's Golden Gala Mile in Rome, Canada's Kevin Sullivan was elated with his performance, and a little disillusioned, too. From a personal perspective, he had accomplished much—his time of 3:52.96 was his season-best, and a decade ago, it might have been fast enough to win. But that night in Italy, the miler from Brantford, Ont., finished a distant eleventh, almost the length of the finishing straight behind the sensational Hicham El Guerrouj. The Moroccan crossed in a world-record time of 3:43.13, more than a second faster than the previous mark set in 1993 by Algeria's Noureddine Morceli. The Canadian, meanwhile, was philosophical. "If I run well," he explained, "I can handle finishing far back."

So much for the four-minute mile. Since England's Roger Bannister broke that magical mark in 1954, the world record has been improved 17 times, and recently, times have improved dramatically in other middle distances. As a result, the chance of witnessing yet another record-breaking run is the hook that track-meet directors, TV networks and even the organizers of the forthcoming Summer Games in Sydney, Australia, are using to attract fans. But those sublime performances have also invited scorn. When track records fall sharply, skeptics inevitably suspect the use of banned substances—there are several drugs available, including human growth hormone and EPO, a biosynthetic form of a hormone called erythropoietin, that are undetectable in conventional urine tests. Many officials worry that suspicions of doping threaten the credibility of the sport, and some of the fiercest critics are former record holders and Olympic champions. "In any endurance sport," says Frank Shorter, the 1972 Olympic marathon champion and chairman of the newly formed U.S. Anti-Doping Agency, "if you don't go on growth hormone or EPO, you might as well find another job."

Fears about rampant EPO use are not new—the drug has been around for more than 15 years. But it didn't gain front-page notoriety until 1998, when police seized hundreds of vials of both human growth hormone and EPO in a series of raids on teams competing in cycling's Tour de France. Created to treat anemia in patients suffering from kidney failure, EPO adds to the user's percentage of oxygen-carrying red blood cells, and in athletes, it can boost endurance by as much as 25 per cent—a huge asset in sports such as cycling, cross-country skiing and running. Therefore, Shorter says, if the drug is used widely in cycling, it is logical that it would be popular in running events that also reward endurance.

But EPO also has a deadly side. Blood thickens when there is too high a percentage of red cells, and that puts a greater strain on the heart and risks cardiac arrest. Since the mid-1980s, there have been dozens of sudden deaths among apparently healthy athletes, especially cyclists, in Belgium and Holland that some link to EPO use. As a result, the International Cycling Union has begun taking blood samples from competitors. If the red-cell count is above a certain level that would signal some sort of tampering, the athlete is removed from a competition for his or her own "protection."

With the Sydney Olympics fast approaching in September, researchers at the Australian Sports Institute are racing to perfect a blood test that they hope will detect the use of synthetic EPO. A French research team is working simultaneously to develop a urine test to detect EPO. They may both be too late. International Olympic Committee vice-president Dick Pound, who is also chairman of the newly formed World Anti-Doping Agency, says no rest will be sanctioned for use in Sydney if it has not been published in a scientific journal and subsequently verified by a second research team.

Still, Pound does not rule out the possibility of collecting blood samples in Sydney, freezing them, then analyzing them once the tests are verified. He also delivers an ominous warning to those who would abuse drugs. "I don't think we are far from a test for EPO," the Montreal lawyer declares. "We're not going to tell anyone when we are going to implement the EPO test. I have no compunction about swooping down, catching them and levelling sanctions."

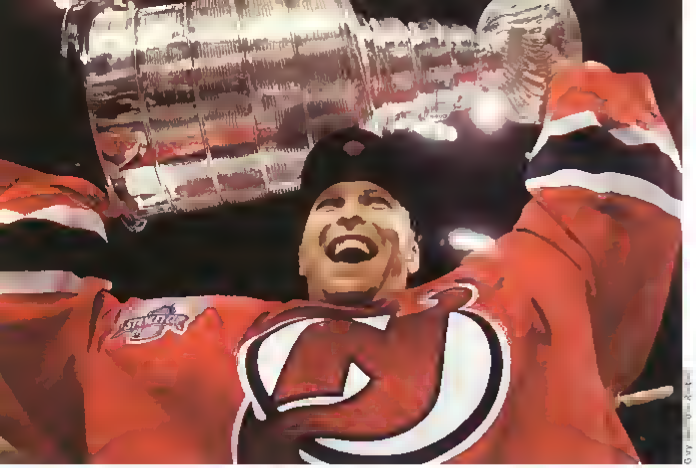
Insiders say that while drug use is not universal, it is more prevalent among athletes who are associated with certain managers and coaches. That saddens Said Aouita, who in the 1980s smashed world records at 1,500 m, 3,000 m, two miles and 5,000 m. He turned to coaching in his native Morocco after retiring from competition, but he has since become disenchanted by what he believes is endemic drug use, and he now refuses to coach. Aouita's 5,000-m record of 12:58.39, which he set in 1987—prior to EPO's rise—has since been beaten 34 times by 14 different athletes, most recently in 1998 by Haile Gebrselassie of Ethiopia in a stunning 12:39.36. That pace is only slightly more than four minutes per mile.

Nobody has accused Gebrselassie of drug use. The 27-year-old has beaten world records 18 times indoors and out and is widely considered the greatest distance runner of all time. Jos Hermens, Gebrselassie's Dutch manager, suggests the recent dominance of African runners is due to year-round training. "It is only in the last five or six years that the Africans have been training seriously," Hermens claims. "Haile was the first, and he has been the motivation for others." He adds: "Ethiopians and Kenyans are not going to doctors in France for needles. They don't like that stuff—they don't even like to take vitamins."

Back in Canada, Sullivan continues to show improvement even while losing ground on European and African counterparts. He is philosophical. "Once you get onto the circuit outside North America, you start to hear rumours about all these high-profile athletes using EPO," Sullivan explains. "Basically, it's just rumours, and I don't know how much value to really put into them. I try to go into my races with the notion that I am racing against clean athletes, so that I get a feeling that, if I continue to work and improve, I can get to those levels, too. Whether that is being naive or not, I don't know."

John Walker suggests it may be. The New Zealander, who became the first man to beat 3:50 in the mile back in 1975, also set a 2,000-m world record in 1976 of 4:51.52, a time that withstood the challenges of such superstars as Steve Cram and Aouita for seven years. Now, the record is held by El Guerrouj at 4:44.79. Plagued by Parkinson's disease, Walker nevertheless follows the sport closely, and he is reluctant to point fingers at anyone in particular, since there is no proof of EPO and other synthetic drug use. But he does say that the sheer number of athletes contending at the highest levels invites suspicion of drug use. "The tracks haven't got any better, the timing hasn't got any better and man hasn't got any better," Walker says, adding, 'why should we have a whole lot of athletes running a lot faster now?" Kevin Sullivan is wondering the same thing.

Paul Gains



Brodeur victorious: people sitting on the edges of their seats

Sports

Devils get their due

In tuxedos and ties, the players honoured ar last week's National Hockey League awards gala in Toronto didn't look much like the gritty guys who had just finished playing for the Stanley Cup. Ir wasn't just the absence of pads and helmers—there were no missing teeth, black eyes or stitched-up chins. After all, none of the Dallas Stars were nominated for any of the individual-achievement trophies, and only a couple of the Cup-winning New Jersey Devils suited up for the occasion. One of them was rookie-of-the-year winner Scott Gomez, a 20-year-old whose aw-shucks poise was as apparent onstage as it is on the ice. In thanking practically everyone he'd ever known in hockey, the Alaskan of Mexican descent made the evening's most entertaining acceptance speech. "I don't know if I'll ever get back in this situation," Gomez explained, "so I want ro have some fun."

It was a fun night for a lot of big-name NHL stars, particularly Chris Pronger of the St. Louis Blues, who was named both the league's best defenceman and its most valuable player. Like other individual winners, however, Pronger admitted to longing for another trophy—the Stanley Cup. Never mind that since the Devils have no official home town, the Cup parade had to be staged in the parking lot outside Continental Airlines Arena. All that matters is that, after four gruelling playoff rounds, the Devils were thrilled to have captured the Cup in a stirring final series that concluded with two nivetting, multiple-overtime games. "Hockey can be really, really proud of the last two games," said Jersey coach Larry Robinson. "I don't think you are ever going to see two buildings that are more tense with people sitting on the edges of their sears rhan those last two games."

The Devils seemed long shots going into the playoffs. They struggled late in the regular season, forcing Devils general manager Lou Lamoriello to replace head coach Robbie Ftorek with Robinson, the former Montreal Canadiens great whose quiet but firm approach immediately got the players' arrention. They then beat Florida, Toronto and Philadelphia before even getting to the final playoff round. By then, Lamoriello's other late-season moves, such as trade-deadline deals to acquire speedy winger Alexander Mogilny from Vancouver and rushing rearguard Vladimir Malakhov from Montreal, began to pay off.

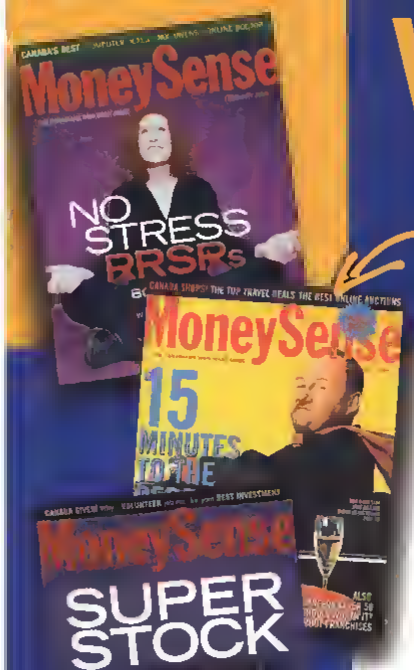
Still, Jersey was led by veterans such as playoff MVP Scott Stevens and fellow defenceman Scott Niedermayer, goalrender Martin Brodeur, and the high-scoring trio of Jason Arnott, 25, of Collingwood, Ont., and Czech wingers Petr Sykora, 23, and Patrik Elias, 24, who, as a line, came of age in the playoffs. Fittingly, it was Arnott who finally beat the Stars' brilliant netminder, Ed Belfour, for the winning goal.

The party may be short-lived for Lamoriello the stellar cast he assembled for this Cup run is about to be depleted. The Devils will lose at least two players in the June 23 expansion draft to stock new teams in Columbus, Ohio, and Minneapolis. They will probably say goodbye to at least one of their five free agents, and longtime Devils stalwarts, such as defenceman Ken Daneyko and winger Randy McKay, may opr to retire on a high note. But the Devils have kept their talent pool well stocked with good scouting and drafting, and a hallmark of Lamoriello's management style is his patience with young players. Defenceman Colin White and centre John Madden joined the team this season after developing in the minors. "Maturity comes at different times for different people," Lamoriello says. "We aren't dealing with robots."

> With no big-name stars, New Jersey won the trophy that counts

A bigger question, though, is whether Lamoriello himself will stay in the fold. YankeeNets, a sports and entertainment company, is buying the Devils from majority owner John McMullen, and Lamoriello has not announced if he will continue under the new regime. A hard bargainer in contract negotiations, Lamoriello would nevertheless be missed by his players. "I haven't talked to him about it yet, but I think he's staying—I hope he is," Stevens said. The Devils' hopes of defending their title may depend on it.

James Deacon



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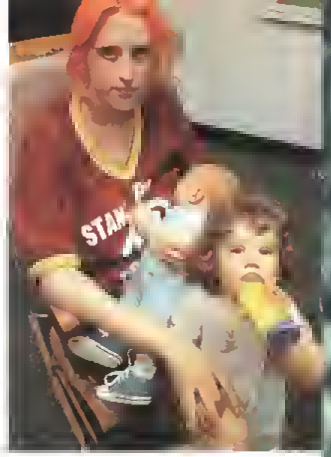
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Children of poverty

A United Nations study spotlights the large number of Canadian kids who live in impoverished homes



Warner with baby Keo and his brother, Skai: no money to buy new clothes

Candace Warner, a jobless single parent, lives with her sons—two-month-old Keo and 1½-year-old Skai—in Winnipeg's run-down Wolseley district. The product of an impoverished background, Candace, 24, struggles to pay the apartment rent and feed and care for her children on about $1,000 a month in social assistance. "My sons need new clothes and things that I can't buy," she says, "because I don't have the money." With Canada's once sturdy social safety net badly frayed, the plight of Candace and her kids is not unusual. According to a study released last week by the United Nations Children's Fund—UNICEF (the organization long ago changed its name, but kept the old acronym)—15.5 per cent of Canadians under 18 live in poverty. That relegated Canada to 17th place in a ranking of 23 industrialized nations and prompted demands for action. "Politicians talk about eradicating child poverty," said Jean-Marie Nadeau, executive assistant at the New Brunswick Federation of Labour. "Then they shut their big doors and the young are forgotten."

As it happened, publication of the UN study coincided with a Statistics Canada report showing that a buoyant economy finally pushed 1998 family incomes past levels recorded before the recession of the early 1990s, with after-tax family incomes averaging $49,626. The numbers also showed the gap between low-income and affluent Canadians steadily widening, leaving 3.7 million Canadians in straitened circumstances.

Income disparities figured prominently in the UNICEF study, which estimated that 47 million impoverished children live in the world's 23 richest countries. The report found the lowest rates of child poverty among northern European countries with strong traditions of wealth redistribution. Sweden—with only 2.6 per cent of its children living in poverty—had the lowest rate, while Canada ranked behind France, Germany, Hungary and Japan, but ahead of Britain, Italy, the United States and Mexico, in last place with a 26.2-per-cent child poverty rate.

The sometimes surprising findings were partly due to methodology—the rankings were based on "relative poverty," defined as household income that is less than half of the national median. That meant nations like the Czech Republic and Poland, with high overall poverty rates, came out ahead of Canada, Britain and the United States, where higher average incomes and income disparities make more people relatively poor. "Canada reflects poorly in a relative measurement," said Marta Morgan, director of children's policy at Human Resources Development Canada, "because middle incomes in this country are quite high." Even so, when social advocacy groups use StatsCan's low-income cutoff as a measure of poverty, they generally estimate there were about 1.4 million poor children in Canada in 1997—a child poverty rate of 19.8 per cent that is well above UNICEF's.

The study's authors argued that even when children from families with limited resources have the necessities of life, they suffer by being excluded from normal childhood activities. Linda Rowe, a single Halifax mother who stretches aid of about $1,400 a month to support herself and two young sons, knows they are feeling that pinch. "Right now, I'm trying to borrow $20 so my kids can go on a school trip," she says.

With the years of stringent budget-cutting behind them, Ottawa and some provinces have started to rebuild social supports that benefit low-income families. Finance Minister Paul Martin's February budget reduced taxes for families with children and earmarked $2.5 billion in additional funding for Ottawa's child tax benefit, which currently pays up to about $160 a month for children in low-income families. And after nearly three years of wrangling, federal-provincial talks on a proposed National Children's Agenda—that could usher in early childhood development and child-care programs—appeared to be moving ahead, with ministers agreeing to draft a policy framework by the fall. Even so, some provinces still insist that Ottawa will have to restore billions of dollars in lost health and social funding before the agenda becomes a reality—a stumbling block that could hold up long-overdue measures to help Canada's children.

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Mark Nichols *with Brian Bergman in Calgary, Susan McClelland in Toronto and John DeMont in Halifax*

Poor kids in developed nations

Percentage of children living in "relative" poverty (household income below 50 per cent of national median)



Source: UNICEF

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Look Back in Love

By Barry Came in London

The chirp of children's voices does not figure heavily in the darkly satirical works of Martin Amis. Nor are they the kind of sounds likely to halt in mid-sentence a writer whose journeys through a grotesque urban underworld long ago earned him a reputation as the cynical bad boy of British fiction. But that is precisely what happens on a grey day in London, when the tinkle of children's laughter drifts into the living room of Amis's handsome Primrose Hill home. A furrow of parental concern creases his brow as he hurries to a window and glances into his front yard. "My kids," he mutters apologetically around one of the hand-rolled cigarettes that hang, almost permanently, from the corner of his mouth. "I just want to make sure that nothing's amiss."

Loving father and attentive family man is not quite the conventional view of Amis, at least not for anyone who has followed his career in the British press for much of the past decade. His novels have been panned, his extramarital affairs dissected; even his teeth have been the subject of endless heated debate. The country's newspapers, the rowdy tabloids in particular, have portrayed him as sneering and greedy: a disloyal friend, a faithless husband, an uncaring parent and, most damning of all, the cold son to his own father, novelist and poet Sir Kingsley Amis, who died in 1995. The critics, however, may sing a different tune as a result of the near-simultaneous publication of two books: *Experience* (Knopf Canada, $35.95), a 400-page memoir by Martin Amis, and *The Letters of Kingsley Amis* (available on July 1 from HarperCollins, $54.95), 1,200 pages of correspondence edited by Martin's longtime friend and tennis partner, Zachary Leader.

Both books shed new light on each Amis, and even more on a relationship that is nearly unique in the world of letters. For Kingsley and Martin were not merely father and son, subject to all of the usual tribulations; they were also literary soulmates, often rivals. And while much has been made of their differences, Kingsley's *Letters* and, especially, Martin's *Experience* reveal that they shared a deep, abiding affection.

To be sure, father and son disagreed on almost everything, politics in particular. All of Kingsley's foibles—the snobbery, the anti-Semitism, the wacky right-wing ideology—are on display in the letters, the bulk of which consists of salty exchanges with British poet Philip Larkin and American poet-historian Robert Conquest. But so, too, is the comic genius that won him early fame for *Lucky Jim* and a Booker Prize in his declining, curmudgeonly years for *The Old Devils*. More telling, the letters also unmask Kingsley's much-publicized envy of Martin's success for what it really was, something of a private joke to amuse—and confuse—London's gossipy literary establishment. "In truth, they got on very well," says Leader, a U.S.-born, British-based professor of English literature, "not least because of Martin's superhuman ability to not get upset over his father's repeated public claims that he could not read many of his son's novels."

The criticism certainly carried a sting. Martin makes that clear in *Experience* as he describes "the squeeze of immediate hurt" when Kingsley bluntly tells him that he "couldn't get on" with the younger Amis's second novel, *Dead Babies*, published in 1975. But then, as now, Martin could always regard his father's opinions with some philosophical detachment. "It's true that my father could sometimes slight me in public," he says without a hint of rancour in the rolling Oxbridge accent that is so at odds with the low-life characters who people his fiction. "But it was Kingsley's way of slighting all contemporary fiction, really."

At 50, the bad-boy tag does not much fit Martin Amis anymore, if it ever did. The label is in any case absurd for someone who is the father of five children (including toddlers Clio and Fernanda, daughters of his second marriage to writer Isabel Fonseca), never mind the author of nine novels and a huge and growing body of journalism, essays and literary criticism. The new Martin carries traces of the old, in the trim figure, the cool demeanour, the hip vocabulary. But he is no longer the whippet-like 24-year-old with the Beatles haircut and crushed-velvet trousers who rocketed to fame with the 1973 publication of his first novel, *The Rachel Papers*. That book won him a Somerset Maugham Award, the same prize his father had won 20 years earlier for his first published novel, *Lucky Jim*. But Martin's star has dimmed a little of late. Neither of his two most recent novels—*The Information* (1995) and *Night Train* (1998)—have been received well in Britain, though they have fared much better with North American reviewers and readers.

> Martin Amis's memoirs reveal a deep, abiding affection between him and his father, Kingsley



Kingsley Amis (top right) with family in 1956 (Martin, bottom right) rivalry

Experience, however, may well signal a rebound, for it is a masterly work of art, displaying a writer in full command of his craft. Though billed as an autobiography, it is much more than that. The very structure is novelistic, leaping back and forth in time in search of parallels and connections, buried symmetry. The prose is finely wrought, replete with the inventive wordplay for which Martin is justly celebrated. And what emerges at the end is an intensely private, at times deeply moving account of one man's journey from innocence to experience. Nowhere is this more evident than in the final pages, as Martin watches his father's slow demise. "How hard it is to die," he writes. "You have to chase it, panting."

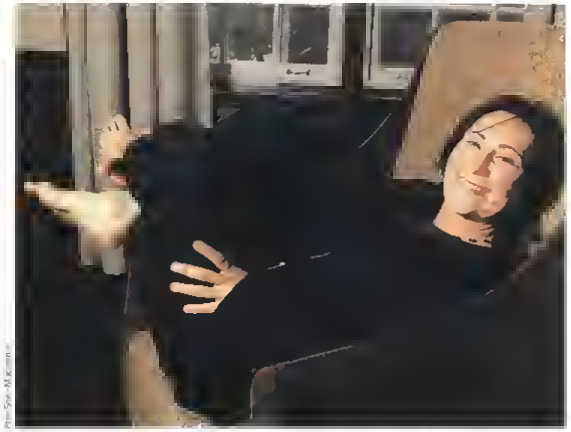
Kingsley's death was the prime catalyst that compelled Martin to write *Experience*. It was not, however, the only reason. Sections of *Experience* are devoted to what Amis describes as "setting the record straight" on the whole chain of disasters that befell him in 1994 and 1995, when Britain's media turned his private life into a public nightmare. His first marriage fell apart and he underwent painful surgery to reconstruct his jaw and replace all of his teeth. At the same time, he broke with his longtime British agent, Pat Kavanagh, over his demand for a then-unprecedented $11-million advance for *The Information*, which, in turn, prompted a high-profile rupture with Kavanagh's husband and Martin's old friend, the novelist Julian Barnes. All of these events were seized upon by the media, the tabloids especially, to rake Amis over hot coals. The novelist A. S. Byatt did not help matters with her now-famous complaint about subsidizing Martin's "greed simply because he has a divorce to pay for and has just had all his teeth redone."

Amis's fans will finally get a chance to read in *Experience* the author's version of those tumultuous two years—a period when he discovered that he was the father of 17-year-old Delilah Seale and that his cousin Lucy Partington, who had disappeared in 1973, was one of the victims of the notorious serial killer Frederick West. They will learn much, perhaps too much, about the agonies associated with rebuilding his mouth. But, apart from a dig or two at the press, they will not find an abundance of gall. Amis's tone is conciliatory, a plea for understanding. In one long passage, he describes a visit to Cape Cod to bid a final goodbye to his then-estranged first wife and their two young sons. "On the night flight back to London," he writes, "I performed what seemed to me to be the extraordinary feat of shedding tears throughout the full six hours, even during the shallow sleep I kept snapping out of." A happier note is struck later in the book when Amis witnesses the birth of his first daughter by his second marriage. "At the birth of your child, you forgive your parents *everything*, without a second thought, like a velvet revolution. This is part of the cunning of babies."

Amis interrupted his 10th novel in midstream to write *Experience*. He vows to return to his novel, but not until he finishes gathering and editing a collection of his essays and writing a nonfiction account of atrocities committed during the early years of the Soviet Union. In the meantime, America beckons. Like his friend Salman Rushdie, Amis is thinking of moving to New York City. "I'll probably go in three or four years' time," he says, "once my boys are older." If he does make the move, the British might miss him, but probably not London's tabloids. As *Experience* amply demonstrates, the bad boy of English letters departed long ago. m

Lang is loving life

Lately, country crooner **k. d. lang** has given in to pop. Her newest album, *Invincible Summer*, includes lyrics like "In this crazy world full of lemons, you're lemonade," and the video for the first single, *Summerfling*, shows a love-in-type atmosphere at a cottage where beautiful people ride motorcycles through the hills and cook up Jiffy Pop popcorn. "It is so unlike me to do stuff like that," says the Alberta-born lang, 38. "I kinda think it's fantastic."



Peter Sylvester-McLennan

Lang has, for the moment, left behind her old **Patsy Cline** obsession and the torch and twang, as well as the melancholy sadness of her autobiographical 1992 breakthrough album, *Ingenue*, and the experimental phase of her follow-up albums, *All You Can Eat* and *Drag*. On a suggestion from her buddy **Madonna**, lang used electronica producer Damian LeGassick for the new album, and the two of them came up with one of the most infectious collections of summer songs since the **Beach Boys**' *Surfin' USA*.

One listen and it is clear that lang's *Invincible Summer* is inspired by love. Lang admits that her four-year relationship with **Leisha Hailey**, lead singer of the New York City band the **Murmurs**, is a record for her. And that having a house and an established lifestyle with Hailey, 28, in the Hollywood Hills has put her in a "positive space." "There is something about Leish that brings out the best of me," says lang, "because I am a Scorpio and I can be quite dark and withdrawn, but the chemistry between us just brings me to my very best."

Lanchester's Londoners



Dominik Bindl/Courtesy of Macmillan

John Lanchester's hilarious new novel, *Mr Phillips*, about a day in the life of a laid-off 50-year-old accountant, provides a savagely satiric portrait of middle-aged men. But that, the English writer insists, wasn't his primary intention. "I was simply interested in the changing relationship to work," protests Lanchester, 38. "Nobody my age or younger thinks they have a job for life, so I wanted somebody old enough to be rocked by this tectonic shift." Hence the sex-obsessed Victor Phillips, who, unable to tell his family about his job loss, pretends to leave for work as usual, only to spend a truly awful day among his fellow Londoners, including chatty pornographers and surly bank robbers. Both of Lanchester's novels—the first was *The Debt to Pleasure* in 1996—are black comedies. It is a genre he will continue to mine, despite his own tranquil domesticity—he and his wife, writer **Miranda Carter**, have a 2½-year-old son, **Finn**. "I have only one general idea about books," Lanchester says. "They're the same as life. The structure is tragic, because every life is tragic in the end, but the texture is comic."

Who's the man? (not) Shaft

Actor **Jeffrey Wright** has done the near-impossible. In his latest film, *Shaft*, he overshadows today's coolest star, **Samuel L. Jackson**. As Dominican drug lord Peoples Hernandez, Wright sports a Caesar haircut with menacingly long, pointed sideburns, delivers his lines in a thick Hispanic accent and wields an ice pick. Off-screen, while Jackson has been publicly airing his differences with the film's producer, writer and director, Wright has been playing it cool. "Filmmaking is much like going to a restaurant," says the 35-year-old Washington native. "The less you know about how your soup was prepared, the more likely you are to enjoy it."

Shaft is Wright's first blockbuster, but the Manhattanite is far from green. In 1993, he won a Tony award for his role on Broadway in *Angels in America*. In 1996, he starred in *Basquiat*, a film about black graffiti artist **Jean-Michel Basquiat**. And last year, Wright played a slave fighting for the South in the Civil War drama *Ride with the Devil*. Although he knows that his performance in *Shaft* will introduce him to a wider audience, Wright isn't convinced it will make him a star—or even throw more roles his way. "I've learned not to take anything for granted in this business," he says. "I won the Tony and for a year I couldn't get an agent, let alone a part."



Peter Bregg/Maclean's

Music

Our gal in Havana

Canada's Jane Bunnett celebrates Cuban sounds

By Nicholas Jennings

She's been called "Havana Jane," and Canada's Jane Bunnett has certainly earned the title. The celebrated jazz flurist and soprano saxophonist has been a familiar face around the Coban capital for years. Long before Ry Cooder made the Buena Vista Social Club a household name, Bunnett was sharing her passion for Latin music with North American audiences, taking Cuban artists on tour and featuring them on acclaimed albums of her own.

But it wasn't until last November that the Totonto musician discovered the extent of her reputation as Canada's unofficial cultural ambassador. Bunnett had travelled back to Havana with her husband, trumpeter Larry Cramer, and a National Film Board crew, to realize her long-standing dream of making a documentary on the island's musical legacy. A recording date had been scheduled in the state-owned Egrem Studios, with about 40 of the city's established musicians. But when Bunnett and Cramer arrived at Egrem, they found more than 100 would be stars. Recalls Bunnett: "All of them showed up, dressed in their best clothes and gold chains, telling the NFB people, 'Jane invited me.' When the producer asked us who this or that person was, we didn't have a clue."

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Party-crashers aside, Bunnett, 43, has remained an ardent supporter of Cuban music. The NFB documentary, set to premiere in the fall, will showcase artists from across the Caribbean island. Four years ago, Bunnett also formed the charity Spirit of Music to raise money to purchase and repair instruments for Cuban schools—so far it has provided more than $30,000. Meanwhile, Bunnett's latest album, *Ritmo + Soul*, is her sixth to put Cuban musicians in the spotlight. Her first, the groundbreaking *Spirits of Havana*, earned a 1992 Juno Award and was named one of the top 300 jazz discs of all time by the U.S.-based *All Music Guide*. But *Ritmo + Soul* (Blue Note/EMI) may be Bunnett's most accomplished work to date, seamlessly blending fiery Afro-Cuban rhythms with the musician's own joyful compositions. Now on a tour of jazz festivals across Canada with her seven-piece band, Bunnett is clearly riding a new career high.



Rick Chard for Maclean's

Bunnett: fiery rhythms, joyful songs

Prior to a recent week-long engagement at a Toronto club, Bunnett and Cramer recalled how they were initially bitten by the Cuban bug. It began in 1982, when the couple first vacationed in Cuba and heard a local group featuring eight drummers. "There's a real power to the music there," says Bunnett. "I've seen it lift people's spirits in the poorest sections of the cities. Whether it's religious, folkloric or carnival music, it all has a purity and strength." "Plus," adds Cramer, "there are so many gifted musicians that it makes for some fantastic collaborations." On *Ritmo + Soul*, Cubans Hilario Durán (piano), Pancho Quinto (percussion), Dafnis Prieto (drums) and Ernesto Gatell (vocals) mix it up with Bunnett, Cramer, bassist Roberto Occhipinti,

Classics with a kink

In the wake of Diana Krall's tidal assault on the music world, it's surprising that more success hasn't spilled over Holly Cole's way. Both Canadian artists have a gift for bringing new meaning to old material. While Krall sticks mostly to jazz standards, Cole draws from a jukebox of Tin Pan Alley classics and more modern material. On her new *Romantically Helpless* (Alert/Universal), Cole tackles everything from Frank Sinatra to Paul Simon. What makes the album distinctive is that Cole (currently playing the jazz festival circuit) gives jazz classics a refreshing pop twist while jazzing up pop tunes with thrilling results.



Cole: refreshing twists

Following the successful formula of 1997's *Dark Dear Heart*, the new album again adds drums and eclectic guitar to Cole's usual stripped-down accompaniment of keyboardist Aaron Davis and bassist David Piltch. The fuller sound helps turn the Mamas and the Papas' *Dedicated to the One I Love* into a sinister-sounding take on obsessive love. But the most radical treatments are those given songs once popularized by Sinatra and Bing Crosby. Cole transforms *Come Fly with Me* into a slow, soaring ballad, while *That Old Black Magic* and *Don't Fence Me In* have a Mardi Gras flavour, complete with rude trombones, suggestive organ and sassy vocals. By pushing her skills as an interpreter, Holly Cole can make even a Depression-era number sound like a giddy carnival tune.

N.J.

singer Dean Bowmen and Cameroon thumb piano player Njacko Backo to create an original hybrid connecting African and Cuban music with jazz, blues and gospel

Adventurous tastes have been apparent in Bunnett ever since the classically trained musician abandoned piano for flute and then soprano saxophone and began exploring the world of jazz. After recording her 1988 debut album, *In Dew Time*, Bunnett began getting attention from the jazz establishment On one of their return trips to Cuba, Bunnett and Cramer met up with legendary singer Merceditas Valdes and her husband, percussionist Guillermo Barreto, both now deceased A close friendship was formed that deepened the Canadians' connection to Cuba.

Valdes appeared on both *Spirits of Havana* and the follow-up, *Chamalongo*. And the singer clearly inspired Bunnett in her quest to expose Cuban music to the world—even when it jeopardized her career. In 1996, Bunnett ran afoul of Washington's Helms-Burton bill seeking to penalize any company that broke the U.S. trade blockade of Cuba She believes the fear-mongering led to a cancelled recording contract, as well as a loss of $40,000 in American concert dates She did, however, persevere with what she called the "Come Helms or High Water" tour

Now riding the wave of Cuban music's continuing popularity, Bunnett insists she will never grow tired of the island's sounds. "Every time we go, we discover something new and exciting," says Bunnett, "whether it's a 10-piece a cappella Creole group from Camaguey or a 38-piece conga band from Santiago It's really kind of magical." m

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Chanteuse Celine to the rescue

Need a doctor quick? Call superstar **Celine Dion**, as Grammy Award-winning producer and songwriter **David Foster** recently discovered Foster took a tumble while in the Bahamas, seriously injuring his right hand "It was midnight, and I was at an emergency ward thinking I'll never play the piano again," says Foster, 50, who was born in Victoria and has produced and written a number of hit songs for Dion, including *The Power of Love*. So, at 3 a.m., he called the songbird at her home on Jupiter Island, Fla., 30 km north of Palm Beach. "Celine really came through," says Foster "She got me the best doctor in West Palm Beach I was in his office at 7 a.m. and back [in the Bahamas] by noon." The power of money.



Neil McEachern/Toronto Sun



Chum Ltd./A Golden Boy Production

Dion; Foster, wife Linda Thompson (left); musical collaborators

CD Releases

RIDING WITH THE KING
B. B. King & Eric Clapton
On this collaboration, King, an elder statesman of the blues, and Clapton, a bluesy rocker, explore several varieties of mood indigo.

MUSIC @ WORK
The Tragically Hip
Known simply as the Hip by devotees, the popular rock group from Kingston, Ont., returns with its distinctive mix of innovative sounds and artful lyrics.

SOUNDTRACK FROM SEX AND THE CITY
Various Artists
Can't get enough of the hit TV show? This CD features songs played during the series, by artists ranging from Missy Elliott to Bette Midler



Kathy Willens/AP

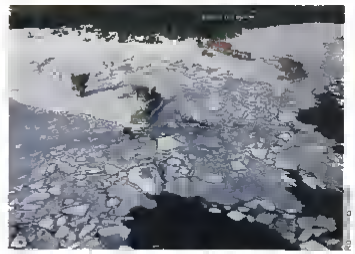
ROMANTICALLY HELPLESS
Holly Cole
For her sixth album, the Halifax native blends classics such as *That Old Black Magic* with contemporary gems written by Randy Newman and Paul Simon

A happy ending

Robert Finley's imaginary version of Christopher Columbus's bumbling maiden voyage is called *The Accidental Indies*. It's a fitting title for a meditation on the power of language to create reality—and for a surprise visitor to the best-seller list that was also McGill-Queen's University Press's unlikely choice as its first fiction title. Finley is a 42-year-old English professor from Halifax who teaches at the Acadian Université Sainte-Anne in Pointe-de-l'Eglise, N.S. His book is based on 16th-century sources, and is highly original, combining elements of verse, narrative, travel literature and ship's log. The end result, according to Finley, is something of a "lyric-story-essay." The manuscript passed from puzzled publisher to publisher before ending up at McGill-Queen's poetry division. "We liked it," relates Bruce Walsh, sales manager for the Press. "But it's not poetry. So we had to decide whether we'd stretch and take a chance on it." The clincher? "We heard the author was from Nova Scotia—so are four of us here," laughs Walsh, a native of Bridgewater "And our answer became, 'Oh, yes, of course, of course, we'll do it.'" The accidental star.

Capturing the beauty of Canada

As a member of the 1992 space shuttle Discovery mission, Roberta Bondar took photographs of the Earth from 300 km away. But for her latest project, the first Canadian woman in space turned the camera on earthbound subjects. Bondar, 54, a longtime photography enthusiast, spent 2½ years snapping pictures of Canada's 41 national parks. The resulting collection of 115 black-and-white and colour pictures, titled Passionate Vision, will be on display at Ottawa's Museum of Nature from June 15 to Oct. 1. The exhibit, backed by a $1-million federal grant, then tours the country until 2003



Bondar's photograph Monolith, *earthbound*

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Entertainment Notes

Best-Sellers

		Position Last Week
Fiction		
1.	**ANIL'S GHOST**, Michael Ondaatje (12)	1
2.	**THE FOREST**, Edward Rutherfurd (7)	2
3.	**NO GREAT MISCHIEF**, Alistair Macleod (33)	4
4.	**THE BRETHREN**, John Grisham (18)	8
5	**THE TRUTH TELLER**, Katherine Govier (1)	
6.	**CRADLE AND ALL**, James Patterson (1)	
7	**WHEN WE WERE ORPHANS**, Kazuo Ishiguro (3)	3
8.	**BEOWULF: A NEW VERSE TRANSLATION**, Seamus Heaney (2)	5
9	**FIERCE INVALIDS HOME FROM HOT CLIMATES**, Tom Robbins (2)	7
10	**THE ACCIDENTAL INDIES**, Robert Finley (2)	6
Nonfiction		
1.	**FIVE DAYS IN LONDON**, John Lukacs (21)	1
2	**IN A SUNBURNED COUNTRY**, Bill Bryson (1)	
3.	**ME TALK PRETTY ONE DAY**, David Sedaris (1)	
4	**SOUL STORIES**, Gary Zukav (7)	2
5.	**HOW TO KNOW GOD**, Deepak Chopra (16)	3
6.	**THE PAPAL SIN**, Gary Wills (1)	
7	**HOW TO READ AND WHY**, Harold Bloom (3)	10
8.	**RELATIONSHIP RESCUE**, Phillip McGraw (12)	8
9.	**FOUR STRONG WINDS**, Michael Dorris (1)	
10	**'TIS**, Frank McCourt (36)	4

( ) Weeks on list

Compiled by Brian Bethune

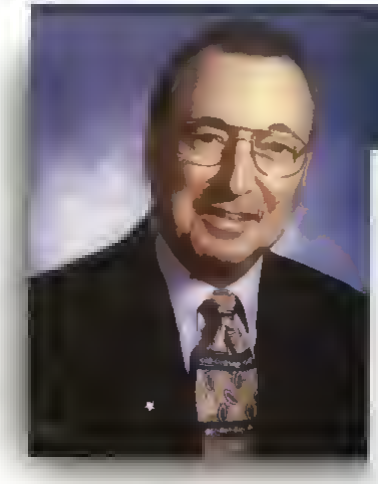
Stove in by a whale

On Nov. 20, 1820, the Nantucket whaleship Essex was in the Pacific Ocean, 3,000 km west of the Galapagos Islands, when it was rammed and sunk by a gigantic sperm whale. Nathaniel Philbrick's *In the Heart of the Sea* (Penguin) recounts this extraordinary event—the inspiration for the climactic scene in Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*—and its horrifying aftermath. After the whale struck, the Essex's 20-man crew gathered in three tiny boats and embarked on a harrowing 90-day journey to South America that eventually covered more than 8,300 km. The whalers turned to the east rather than heading to nearby islands because they mistakenly believed them to be the home of cannibals, a decision made savagely ironic by the murder and cannibalism the crewmen were eventually driven to. Only eight of the 20 men survived their ordeal.



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Allan Fotheringham

Diddling the sports fans

When Paul Weiler was a teenager growing up in Thunder Bay, Ont., he fancied himself a rising hockey star. Until the day his kindly coach took him aside and advised: "Son, if you're hoping for a professional career, you should start hitting the books, not just the pucks!"

Fortunately for him and now us, he took the wise advice. After a stint teaching law and then chairing the B.C. Labour Relations Board under Premier Dave Barrett's NDP, he has spent two decades as a law professor at Harvard. This week he will be honoured with a doctor of laws degree by the University of Toronto at his alma mater's convocation ceremonies.

Just coincidentally—wily Weiler was always great with his timing, if not with the puck—he is publishing an intriguing book *Leveling the Playing Field: How the Law Can Make Sports Better for Fans*.



Weiler is a jock (he just happens to have a speaking engagement in whichever city is hosting the Super Bowl). But he is also an intellectual who thinks the law can level the playing field in sports for the public—not just as fans, but as taxpayers.

He ranges over everything, wondering which was the worst offence—Latrell Sprewell choking his coach or Mike Tyson biting a hunk out of Evander Holyfield's ear. He discusses how the crippled golfer Casey Martin's court case on using a golf cart on the pro tour was opposed by such icons as Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus.

He tells us that baseball's first commissioner, Kenesaw Mountain Landis—famous as a judge for fining John D. Rockefeller and Standard Oil $29 million (U.S.) in 1907—quietly backed the tacit agreement among owners to bar stars such as Satchel Paige of the Negro Leagues. When, in wartime, the last-place St. Louis Browns were recruiting instead the one-armed white outfielder Pete Gray.

Weiler has a great eye. He points out the only way baseball got to ban Pete Rose for life for gambling was that the fuzz needed a stoolie—in this case, Rose's bookie. Just as with sexual charges against a certain "U.S. president," the prosecutor "needed testimony from one party to the offence who had agreed to turn the other in."

He tells in detail how Mark McGwire—due to muscle-building drugs, closer outfield fences and a smaller strike zone—would have to hit "more than 150 homers" in one season to beat Babe Ruth's legitimate 60-homer record. This guy's a serious thinker.

He's serious about the insane American war on marijuana. In the 1970s, 325,000 Americans were in prison for crimes. Today, it's 1.8 million behind bars, the highest number in the world, with 600,000 arrested every year for *possession* of pot.

Illegal pot has never killed anyone, Weiler says, while legal cigarettes dispatch 420,000 annually and legal alcohol at least 100,000 more in the United States. Weiler's main pitch is against the hypocrisy of society, sports czars paranoid about marijuana while ignoring the greater problem of steroids and the fact some 100 criminal charges of physical abuse of women are lodged every year against American college and pro athletes.

His main reasoned pitch on behalf of "worker-fans" is how they are being diddled. By the end of the 1990s, the average major-league player was earning more than $1.4 million, 35 times the $41,000 average 25 years earlier. During the same period, the real hourly earnings of the average American worker—who pays to watch millionaire men play children's games—went *down* by about five per cent.

The reason the players are millionaires, Weiler proves, is because the even wealthier owners willingly pay those salaries because they become wealthy having taxpayers build their stadiums for them.

By the end of the 1990s, there were 120 franchises in the four major leagues, more than 75 of them playing in 65 arenas built or rebuilt in that decade. Total cost: about $15 billion—more than 70 per cent from public coffers. Weiler notes that $325 million in Seattle public funds was used to build a football home for a Seahawks franchise that was being purchased by the second-wealthiest person in the world: Paul Allen, co-founder with Bill Gates of Microsoft.

Weiler politely points out that putative president George W. Bush knows how he could end this ripoff since in 1989 he put together a group that paid $83 million for the Texas Rangers, Dubya himself putting up just $600,000. Three years later, after sticking Dallas-Fort Worth taxpayers for a grand new stadium financed by a higher sales tax, the boys sold the club for $250 million, George's share being $15 million.

Weiler's simple solution? Have Congress pass a law that bars taking money from middle-class taxpayers to go into the pockets of wealthy Americans like George Steinbrenner. We're glad he passed up hockey.



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